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PLUTARCH'S LIVES
OF
GREEK HEROES



Plutarch's Lives
of
Greek Heroes



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PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

ARISTIDES.



ARISTIDES, the son of Lysimachus, was of the tribe of Antiochus, and the ward of Alopece. Of his estate we have different accounts. Some say he was always very poor, and that he left two daughters behind him, who remained a long time unmarried, on account of their poverty. But Demetrius the Phalerean contradicts this general opinion in his *Socrates*, and says there was a farm at Phalera which went by the name of Aristides, and that there he was buried. And to prove that there was a competent estate in his family, he produces three arguments. The first is taken from the office of archon, which made the year bear his name, and which fell to him by lot; and for this none took their chance but such as had an income of the first degree, consisting of five hundred measures of corn, wine, and oil, who therefore were called *Pentucosiomedimni*. The second argument is founded on the *Ostracism*, by which he was banished, and which was never inflicted on the meaner sort, but only upon persons of quality, whose grandeur and family pride made them obnoxious to the people. The third and last is drawn from the Tripods, which Aristides dedicated in the temple of Bacchus, on account of his victory in the public games, and which are still to be seen, with this inscription: "The tribe of Antiochus gained the victory, Aristides defrayed the charges, and Archestratus was the author of the play."

But this last argument, though in appearance the strongest of all, is really a very weak one. For Epaminondas, who, as

everybody knows, lived and died poor, and Plato the philosopher, who was not rich, exhibited very splendid shows: the one was at the expense of a concert of flutes at Thebes, and the other of an entertainment of singing and dancing performed by boys at Athens, Dion having furnished Plato with the money, and Pelopidas supplied Epaminondas. For why should good men be always averse to the presents of their friends? While they think it mean and ungenerous to receive anything for themselves, to lay up or to gratify an avaricious temper, they need not refuse such offers as serve the purposes of honour and magnificence, without any views of profit.

As to the Tripods, inscribed with ARISTIDES, Panætius shows plainly that Demetrius was deceived by the name. For according to the registers, from the Persian to the end of the Peloponnesian war, there were only two of the name of Aristides who carried the prize in the choral exhibitions, and neither of them was the son of Lysimachus; for the former was son to Xenophilus, and the latter lived long after, as appears from the characters, which were not in use till after Euclid's time, and likewise from the name of the poet Archestratus, which is not found in any record or author during the Persian wars; whereas mention is often made of a poet of that name, who brought his pieces upon the stage in the time of the Peloponnesian war. But this argument of Panætius should not be admitted without farther examination.

And as for the Ostracism, every man that was distinguished by birth, reputation, or eloquence was liable to suffer by it; since it fell even upon Damon, preceptor to Pericles, because he was looked upon as a man of superior parts and policy. Besides, Idomeneus tells us that Aristides came to be *Archon* not by lot, but by particular appointment of the people. And if he was *Archon* after the battle of Plataea,* as Demetrius himself writes, it is very probable that, after such great actions, and so much glory, his virtue might gain him that office which others obtained by their wealth. But it is plain that Demetrius laboured to take the imputation of poverty, as if it were some great evil, not only from Aristides, but from Socrates too, who, he says, besides a house of his own, had seventy minæ at interest in the hands of Crito.

Aristides had a particular friendship for Clisthenes, who

* But Demetrius was mistaken, for Aristides was never *Archon* after the battle of Plataea, which was fought in the second year of the seventy-fifth Olympiad.

settled the popular government at Athens, after the expulsion of the tyrants;* yet he had, at the same time, the greatest veneration for Lycurgus, the Lacedæmonian, whom he considered as the most excellent of lawgivers; and this led him to be a favourer of aristocracy, in which he was always opposed by Themistocles, who listed in the party of the commons. Some, indeed, say that, being brought up together from their infancy, when boys they were always at variance, not only in serious matters, but in their very sports and diversions; and their tempers were discovered from the first by that opposition. The one was insinuating, daring, and artful; variable, and at the same time impetuous in his pursuits: the other was solid and steady, inflexibly just, incapable of using any falsehood, flattery, or deceit, even at play. But Aristo of Chios writes, that their enmity, which afterwards came to such a height, took its rise from love.

Themistocles, who was an agreeable companion, gained many friends, and became respectable in the strength of his popularity. Thus, when he was told that "he would govern the Athenians extremely well if he would but do it without respect of persons," he said, "May I never sit on a tribunal where my friends shall not find more favour from me than strangers."

Aristides, on the contrary, took a method of his own in conducting the administration. For he would neither consent to any injustice to oblige his friends, nor yet disoblige them by denying all they asked; and as he saw that many, depending on their interest and friends, were tempted to do unwarrantable things, he never endeavoured after that support, but declared that a good citizen should place his whole strength and security in advising and doing what is just and right. Nevertheless, as Themistocles made many rash and dangerous motions, and endeavoured to break his measures in every step of government, he was obliged to oppose him as much in his turn, partly by way of self-defence, and partly to lessen his power, which daily increased through the favour of the people. For he thought it better that the commonwealth should miss some advantages than that Themistocles, by gaining his point, should come at last to carry all before him. Hence it was that one day, when Themistocles proposed something advantageous to the public,

* These tyrants were the Pisistratidæ, who were driven out about the sixty-sixth Olympiad.

Aristides opposed it strenuously, and with success; but as he went out of the assembly he could not forbear saying, "The affairs of the Athenians cannot prosper, except they throw Themistocles and myself into the *barathrum*." * Another time, when he intended to propose a decree to the people, he found it strongly disputed in the council, but at last he prevailed. Perceiving its inconveniences, however, by the preceding debates, he put a stop to it, just as the president was going to put it to the question, in order to its being confirmed by the people. Very often he offered his sentiments by a third person, lest, by the opposition of Themistocles to him, the public good should be obstructed.

In the changes and fluctuations of the government, his firmness was wonderful. Neither elated with honours, nor discomposed with ill success, he went on in a moderate and steady manner, persuaded that his country had a claim to his services, without the reward either of honour or profit. Hence it was that when those verses of Æschylus concerning Amphiarus were repeated on the stage,

To be, and not to seem, is this man's maxim;
His mind reposes on its proper wisdom,
And wants no other praise,

the eyes of the people in general were fixed on Aristides, as the man to whom this great encomium was most applicable. Indeed, he was capable of resisting the suggestions, not only of favour and affection, but of resentment and enmity too, wherever justice was concerned. For it is said that when he was carrying on a prosecution against his enemy, and after he had brought his charge, the judges were going to pass sentence without hearing the person accused, he rose up to his assistance, entreating that he might be heard, and have the privilege which the laws allowed. Another time, when he himself sat judge between two private persons, and one of them observed, "That his adversary had done many injuries to Aristides," "Tell me not that," said he, "but what injury he has done to thee; for it is thy cause I am judging, not my own."

When appointed public treasurer, he made it appear that not only those of his time, but the officers that preceded him, had applied a great deal of the public money to their own use, and particularly Themistocles:

For he, with all his wisdom,
Could ne'er command his hands.

* The *barathrum* was a very deep pit, into which condemned persons were thrown headlong.

For this reason, when Aristides gave in his accounts, Themistocles raised a strong party against him, accused him of misapplying the public money, and (according to Idomeneus) got him condemned. But the principal and most respectable of the citizens,* incensed at this treatment of Aristides, interposed and prevailed, not only that he might be excused the fine, but chosen again chief treasurer. He now pretended that his former proceedings were too strict, and carrying a gentler hand over those that acted under him, suffered them to pilfer the public money, without seeming to find them out, or reckoning strictly with them, so that, fattening on the spoils of their country, they lavished their praises on Aristides, and, heartily espousing his cause, begged of the people to continue him in the same department. But when the Athenians were going to confirm it to him by their suffrages, he gave them this severe rebuke: "While I managed your finances with all the fidelity of an honest man, I was loaded with calumnies; and now, when I suffer them to be a prey to public robbers, I am become a mighty good citizen; but, I assure you, I am more ashamed of the present honour than I was of the former disgrace; and it is with indignation and concern that I see you esteem it more meritorious to oblige ill men than to take proper care of the public revenue." By thus speaking and discovering their frauds, he silenced those that recommended him with so much noise and bustle, but at the same time received the truest and most valuable praise from the worthiest of the citizens.

About this time Datis, who was sent by Darius, under the pretence of chastising the Athenians for burning Sardis, but in reality to subdue all Greece, arrived with his fleet at Marathon, and began to ravage the neighbouring country. Among the generals to whom the Athenians gave the management of this war, Miltiades was first in dignity, and the next to him in reputation and authority was Aristides. In a council of war that was then held, Miltiades voted for giving the enemy battle, and Aristides seconding him, added no little weight to his scale. The generals commanded by turns, each his day; but when it came to Aristides's turn, he gave up his right to Miltiades, thus showing his colleagues that it was no disgrace to follow the directions of the wise, but that, on the contrary, it answered several honourable and salutary purposes. By this means he laid the spirit of contention, and bringing them to agree in, and follow the best opinion, he strengthened the hands of Miltiades,

* The court of Areopagus interposed in his behalf.

who now had the absolute and undivided command; the other generals no longer insisting on their days, but entirely submitting to his orders.

In this battle, the main body of the Athenian army was pressed the hardest, because there, for a long time, the barbarians made their greatest efforts against the tribes Leontas and Antiochis; and Themistocles and Aristides, who belonged to those tribes, exerting themselves, at the head of them, with all the spirit of emulation, behaved with so much vigour that the enemy were put to flight, and driven back to their ships. But the Greeks, perceiving that the barbarians, instead of sailing to the isles, to return to Asia, were driven in by the wind and currents towards Attica, and fearing that Athens, unprovided for its defence, might become an easy prey to them, marched home with nine tribes, and used such expedition, that they reached the city in one day.*

Aristides was left at Marathon with his own tribe to guard the prisoners and the spoils, and he did not disappoint the public opinion; for though there was much gold and silver scattered about, and rich garments and other booty in abundance were found in the tents and ships which they had taken, yet he neither had an inclination to touch anything himself, nor permitted others to do it. But notwithstanding his care, some enriched themselves unknown to him; among whom was Callias, the torch-bearer. One of the barbarians happening to meet him in a private place, and probably taking him for a king, on account of his long hair and the fillet which he wore, prostrated himself before him, and taking him by the hand, showed him a great quantity of gold that was hid in a well. But Callias, not less cruel than unjust, took away the gold and then killed the man that had given him information of it, lest he should mention the thing to others. Hence, they tell us, it was that the comic writers called his family *Laccoplutæ*, i.e., *enriched by the well*, jesting upon the place from whence their founder drew his wealth.

The year following, Aristides was appointed to the office of *Archon*, which gave his name to that year; though, according to Demetrius the Phalerean, he was not archon till after the battle of Plataea, a little before his death. But in the public registers we find not any of the name of Aristides in the list of archons after Xanthippides, in whose archonship

* From Marathon to Athens is about forty miles.

Mardonius was beaten at Plataea; whereas his name is on record immediately after Phanippus, who was archon the same year that the battle was gained at Marathon.

Of all the virtues of Aristides, the people were most struck with his justice, because the public utility was the most promoted by it. Thus he, though a poor man and a commoner, gained the royal and divine title of *the Just*, which kings and tyrants have never been fond of. It has been their ambition to be styled *Polioreti, takers of cities; Cerauni, thunderbolts; Nicanors, conquerors*. Nay, some have chosen to be called *Eagles* and *Vultures*, preferring the fame of power to that of virtue. Whereas the Deity himself, to whom they want to be compared, is distinguished by three things, immortality, power, and virtue; and of these, virtue is the most excellent and divine. For space and the elements are everlasting, earthquakes, lightning, storms, and torrents have an amazing power; but as for justice, nothing participates of that without reasoning and thinking of God. And whereas men entertain three different sentiments with respect to the gods, namely, admiration, fear, and esteem, it should seem that they admire and think them happy by reason of their freedom from death and corruption, that they fear and dread them because of their power and sovereignty, and that they love, honour, and reverence them for their justice. Yet, though affected these three different ways, they desire only the two first properties of the Deity - immortality, which our nature will not admit of, and power, which depends chiefly upon fortune; while they foolishly neglect virtue, the only divine quality in their power; not considering that it is justice alone which makes the life of those flourish most in prosperity and high stations, heavenly and divine, while injustice renders it grovelling and brutal.

Aristides at first was loved and respected for his surname of *the Just*, and afterwards envied as much; the latter, chiefly by the management of Themistocles, who gave it out among the people that Aristides had abolished the courts of judicature by drawing the arbitration of all causes to himself, and so was insensibly gaining sovereign power, though without guards and the other ensigns of it. The people, elevated with the late victory, thought themselves capable of everything, and the highest respect little enough for them. Uneasy, therefore, at finding that any one citizen rose to such extraordinary honour and distinction, they assembled at Athens from all the towns in Attica, and banished Aristides by the Ostracism; disguising

their envy of his character under the specious pretence of guarding against tyranny.

For the *Ostracism* was not a punishment for crimes and misdemeanours, but was very decently called a humbling and lessening of some excessive influence and power. In reality it was a mild gratification of envy; for by this means, whoever was offended at the growing greatness of another, discharged his spleen, not in anything cruel or inhuman, but only in voting a ten years' banishment. But when it once began to fall upon mean and profligate persons, it was for ever after entirely laid aside; Hyperbolus being the last that was exiled by it.

The Ostracism (to give a summary account of it) was conducted in the following manner. Every citizen took a piece of a broken pot or a shell, on which he wrote the name of the person he wanted to have banished, and carried it to a part of the market-place that was enclosed with wooden rails. The magistrates then counted the number of the shells, and if it amounted not to six thousand, the Ostracism stood for nothing; if it did, they sorted the shells, and the person whose name was found on the greatest number was declared an exile for ten years, but with permission to enjoy his estate.

At the time that Aristides was banished, when the people were inscribing their names on the shells, it is reported that an illiterate burgler came to Aristides, whom he took for some ordinary person, and giving him his shell, desired him to write Aristides upon it. The good man, surprised at the adventure, asked him, "Whether Aristides had ever injured him?" "No," said he, "nor do I even know him, but it vexes me to hear him everywhere called *the Just*." Aristides made no answer, but took the shell, and having written his own name upon it, returned it to the man. When he quitted Athens, he lifted up his hands towards heaven, and agreeably to his character, made a prayer, very different from that of Achilles, namely, "That the people of Athens might never see the day which should force them to remember Aristides."

Three years after, when Xerxes was passing through Thessaly and Boeotia by long marches to Attica, the Athenians reversed this decree, and by a public ordinance recalled all the exiles. The principal inducement was their fear of Aristides, for they were apprehensive that he would join the enemy, corrupt great part of the citizens, and draw them over to the interests of the barbarians. But they little knew the man.

Before this ordinance of theirs, he had been exciting and encouraging the Greeks to defend their liberty; and after it, when Themistocles was appointed to the command of the Athenian forces, he assisted him both with his person and counsel, not disdaining to raise his worst enemy to the highest pitch of glory for the public good. For when Eurybiades, the commander-in-chief, had resolved to quit Salamis, and before he could put his purpose into execution, the enemy's fleet, taking advantage of the night, had surrounded the islands, and in a manner blocked up the straits, without any one perceiving that the confederates were so hemmed in. Aristides sailed the same night from Ægina, and passed with the utmost danger through the Persian fleet. As soon as he reached the tent of Themistocles, he desired to speak with him in private, and then addressed him in these terms: "You and I, Themistocles, if we are wise, shall now bid adieu to our vain and childish disputes, and enter upon a nobler and more salutary contention, striving which of us shall contribute most to the preservation of Greece; you, in doing the duty of a general, and I in assisting you with my service and advice. I find that you alone have hit upon the best measures, in advising to come immediately to an engagement in the straits. And though the allies oppose your design, the enemy promote it. For the sea on all sides is covered with their ships, so that the Greeks, whether they will or not, must come to action, and acquit themselves like men, there being no room left for flight."

Themistocles answered, "I could have wished, Aristides, that you had not been beforehand with me in this noble emulation; but I will endeavour to outdo this happy beginning of yours by my future actions." At the same time he acquainted him with the stratagem he had contrived to ensnare the barbarians, and then desired him to go and make it appear to Eurybiades, that there could be no safety for them without venturing a sea-fight there; for he knew that Aristides had much greater influence over him than he. In the council of war assembled on this occasion, Cleocritus the Corinthian said to Themistocles, "Your advice is not agreeable to Aristides, since he is here present and says nothing." "You are mistaken," said Aristides, "for I should not have been silent, had not the counsel of Themistocles been the most eligible. And I now hold my peace, not out of regard to the man, but because I approve his sentiments." This, therefore, was what the Grecian officers fixed upon.

Aristides then perceiving that the little island of Psyttalia,

which lies in the straits over against Salamis, was full of the enemy's troops, put on board the small transports a number of the bravest and most resolute of his countrymen, and made a descent upon the island, where he attacked the barbarians with such fury that they were all cut in pieces, except some of the principal persons who were made prisoners. Among the latter were three sons of Sandauce the king's sister, whom he sent immediately to Themistocles, and, it is said, that by the direction of Euphrantides the diviner, in pursuance of some oracle, they were all sacrificed to Bacchus *Ometes*. After this, Aristides placed a strong guard round the island, to take notice of such as were driven ashore there, that so none of his friends might perish, nor any of the enemy escape. For about Psyttalia the battle raged the most,* and the greatest efforts were made, as appears from the trophy erected there.

When the battle was over, Themistocles, by way of sounding Aristides, said, "That great things were already done, but greater still remained; for they might conquer Asia in Europe, by making all the sail they could to the Hellespont, to break down the bridge." But Aristides exclaimed against the proposal and bade him think no more of it, but rather consider and inquire what would be the speediest method of driving the Persians out of Greece, lest, finding himself shut up with such immense forces, and no way left to escape, necessity might bring him to fight with the most desperate courage. Hereupon, Themistocles sent to Xerxes the second time, by the eunuch Arnaces, one of the prisoners, to acquaint him privately, that the Greeks were strongly inclined to make the best of their way to the Hellespont to destroy the bridge which he had left there; but that, in order to save his royal person, Themistocles was using his best endeavours to dissuade them from it. Xerxes, terrified at this news, made all possible haste to the Hellespont, leaving Mardonius behind him with the land forces, consisting of three hundred thousand of his best troops.

In the strength of such an army Mardonius was very formidable; and the fears of the Greeks were heightened by his menacing letters, which were in this style: "At sea in your wooden towers you have defeated landmen, unpractised at the oar; but there are still the wide plains of Thessaly and the fields of Bœotia, where both horse and foot may fight to the best advantage." To the Athenians he wrote in particular, being authorised by the king to assure them that their city

* The battle of Salamis was fought in the year before Christ 480.

should be rebuilt, large sums bestowed upon them, and the sovereignty of Greece put in their hands, if they would take no further share in the war. •

As soon as the Lacedæmonians had intelligence of these proposals, they were greatly alarmed, and sent ambassadors to Athens, to entreat the people to send their wives and children to Sparta, and to accept from them what was necessary for the support of such as were in years; for the Athenians having lost both their city and their country, were certainly in great distress. Yet when they had heard what the ambassadors had to say, they gave them such an answer, by the direction of Aristides, as can never be sufficiently admired. They said, "They could easily forgive their enemies for thinking that everything was to be purchased with silver and gold, because they had no idea of anything more excellent; but they could not help being displeased that the Lacedæmonians should regard only their present poverty and distress, and forgetful of their virtue and magnanimity, call upon them to fight for Greece for the paltry consideration of a supply of provisions." Aristides having drawn up his answer in the form of a decree, and called all the ambassadors to an audience in full assembly, bade those of Sparta tell the Lacedæmonians, *That the people of Athens would not take all the gold either above or under ground for the liberties of Greece.*

As for those of Mardonius, he pointed to the sun, and told them, "As long as this luminary shines, so long will the Athenians carry on war with the Persians for their country which has been laid waste, and for their temples which have been profaned and burned." He likewise procured an order, that the priests should solemnly execrate all that should dare to propose an embassy to the Medes, or talk of deserting the alliance of Greece.

When Mardonius had entered Attica the second time, the Athenians retired again to Salamis. And Aristides, who on that occasion went ambassador to Sparta, complained to the Lacedæmonians of their delay and neglect in abandoning Athens once more to the barbarians; and pressed them to hasten to the succour of that part of Greece which was not yet fallen into the enemy's hands. The *Ephori* gave him the hearing, but seemed attentive to nothing but mirth and diversion, for it was the festival of Hyacinthus. At night, however, they selected five thousand Spartans, with orders to take each seven *helots* with him, and to march before morning, unknown to the Athenians.

When Aristides came to make his remonstrances again, they smiled and told him, "That he did but trifle or dream, since their army was at that time as far as Orestium, on their march against the foreigners," for so the Lacedæmonians called the barbarians. Aristides told them, "It was not a time to jest, or to put their stratagems in practice upon their friends, but on their enemies." This is the account Idomeneus gives of the matter; but in Aristides's decree, Cimon, Xanthippus, and Myronides are said to have gone upon the embassy, and Aristides.

Aristides was appointed to command the Athenians in the battle that was expected, and marched with eight thousand foot to Plateæa. There Pausanias, who was commander-in-chief of all the confederates, joined him with the Spartans, and the other Grecian troops arrived daily in great numbers. The Persian army, which was encamped along the river Asopus, occupied an immense tract of ground; and they had fortified a spot ten furlongs square, for their baggage and other things of value.

In the Grecian army there was a diviner of Elis, named Tisamenus, who foretold certain victory to Pausanias and the Greeks in general, if they did not attack the enemy, but stood only upon the defensive. And Aristides, having sent to Delphi, to inquire of the oracle, received this answer: "The Athenians shall be victorious, if they address their prayers to Jupiter, to Juno of Cithæron, to Pan, and to the nymphs Sphragitides; if they sacrifice to the heroes Androcrates, Leucon, Pysander, Democrates, Hypsion, Actæon, and Polydius; and if they fight only in their own country, on the plain of the Eleusinian Ceres and of Proserpine." This oracle perplexed Aristides not a little. For the heroes to whom he was commanded to sacrifice were the ancestors of the Plateæans, and the cave of the nymphs Sphragitides in one of the summits of mount Cithæron, opposite the quarter where the sun sets in the summer; and it is said, in that cave there was formerly an oracle, by which many who dwelt in those parts were inspired, and therefore called *Nympholepti*. On the other hand, to have the promise of victory only on condition of fighting in their own country, on the plain of the Eleusinian Ceres, was calling the Athenians back to Attica, and removing the seat of war.

In the meantime, Arimnestus, general of the Plateæans, dreamt that Jupiter the Preserver asked him, "What the Greeks had determined to do?" To which he answered, "To-morrow they will decamp and march to Eleusis, to fight the barbarians there,

agreeably to the oracle." The god replied, "They quite mistake its meaning; for the place intended by the oracle is in the environs of Platæa, and if they seek for it, they will find it." The matter being so clearly revealed to Arimnestus, as soon as he awoke he sent for the oldest and most experienced of his countrymen; and having advised with them and made the best inquiry, he found that near Ilusæ, at the foot of Mount Cithæron, there was an ancient temple called the temple of the Eleusinian Ceres and of Proserpine. He immediately conducted Aristides to the place, which appeared to be very commodious for drawing up an army of foot, that was deficient in cavalry, because the bottom of Mount Cithæron, extending as far as the temple, made the extremities of the field on that side inaccessible to the horse. In that place was also the chapel of the hero Androcrates, quite covered with thick bushes and trees. And that nothing might be wanting to fulfil the oracle, and confirm their hopes of victory, the Platæans resolved, at the motion of Arimnestus, to remove their boundaries between their country and Attica, and for the sake of Greece, to make a grant of those lands to the Athenians, that, according to the oracle, they might fight in their own territories. This generosity of the Platæans gained them so much renown, that many years after, when Alexander had conquered Asia, he ordered the walls of Platæa to be rebuilt, and proclamation to be made by a herald at the Olympic games: "That the king granted the Platæans this favour on account of their virtue and generosity, in giving up their lands to the Greeks in the Persian war, and otherwise behaving with the greatest vigour and spirit."

When the confederates came to have their several posts assigned them, there was a great dispute between the Tegetæ and the Athenians; the Tegetæ insisting that as the Lacedæmonians were posted on the right wing, the left belonged to them, and, in support of their claim, setting forth the gallant actions of their ancestors. As the Athenians expressed great indignation at this, Aristides stepped forward and said, "The time will not permit us to contest with the Tegetæ the renown of their ancestors and their personal bravery; but to the Spartans and to the rest of the Greeks we say, that the post neither gives valour nor takes it away, and whatever post you assign us, we will endeavour to do honour to it, and take care to reflect no disgrace upon our former achievements. For we are not come hither to quarrel with our allies, but to fight our enemies; not to make encomiums upon our forefathers, but to

approve our own courage in the cause of Greece. And the battle will soon shew what value our country should set on every state, every general, and private man." After this speech, the council of war declared in favour of the Athenians, and gave them the command of the left wing.

While the fate of Greece was in suspense, the affairs of the Athenians were in a very dangerous posture. For those of the best families and fortunes, being reduced by the war, and seeing their authority in the state and their distinction gone with their wealth, and others rising to honours and employments, assembled privately in a house at Plateæ, and conspired to abolish the democracy; and, if that did not succeed, to ruin all Greece, and to betray it to the barbarians. When Aristides got intelligence of the conspiracy thus entered into in the camp, and found that numbers were corrupted, he was greatly alarmed at its happening at such a crisis, and unresolved at first how to proceed. At length he determined neither to leave the matter uninquied into, nor yet to sift it thoroughly, because he knew not how far the contagion had spread, and thought it advisable to sacrifice justice in some degree to the public good, by forbearing to prosecute many that were guilty. He therefore caused eight persons only to be apprehended, and of those eight no more than two, who were most guilty, to be proceeded against. Æschines of Lamprea, and Agesias of Acharnæ; and even they made their escape during the prosecution. As for the rest he discharged them, and gave them and all that were concerned in the plot opportunity to recover their spirits and change their sentiments, as they might imagine that nothing was made out against them; but he admonished them at the same time, "that the battle was the great tribunal where they might clear themselves of the charge, and shew they had never followed any counsels but such as were just and useful to their country."

After this¹ Mardonius, to make a trial of the Greeks, ordered his cavalry, in which he was strongest, to skirmish with them. The Greeks were all encamped at the foot of Mount Cithæron, in strong and stony places, except the Megarensians, who, to the number of three thousand, were posted on the plain, and by this means suffered much by the enemy's horse, who charged them on every side. Unable to stand against such superior numbers, they despatched a messenger to Pausanias for assistance. Pausanias, hearing their request, and seeing the camp of the

¹ The battle of Plateæ was fought in the year before Christ 479, the year after that of Salamis.

Megarensians darkened with the shower of darts and arrows, and that they were forced to contract themselves within a narrow compass, was at a loss what to resolve on, for he knew that his heavy-armed Spartans were not fit to act against cavalry. He endeavoured, therefore, to awaken the emulation of the generals and other officers that were about him, that they might make it a point of honour voluntarily to undertake the defence and succour of the Megarensians. But they all declined it except Aristides, who made an offer of his Athenians, and gave immediate orders to Olympiodorus, one of the most active of his officers, to advance with his select band of three hundred men and some archers intermixed. They were all ready in a moment, and ran to attack the barbarians. Masistius, general of the Persian horse, a man distinguished for his strength and graceful mien, no sooner saw them advancing than he spurred his horse against them. The Athenians received him with great firmness, and a sharp conflict ensued, for they considered this as a specimen of the success of the whole battle. At last Masistius's horse was wounded with an arrow and threw his rider, who could not recover himself because of the weight of his armour, nor yet be easily slain by the Athenians that strove which should do it first, because not only his body and his head but his legs and arms were covered with plates of gold, brass, and iron. But the vizor of his helmet leaving part of his face open, one of them pierced him in the eye with the staff of his spear, and so despatched him. The Persians then left the body and fled.

The importance of this achievement appeared to the Greeks, not by the number of their enemies lying dead upon the field, for that was but small, but by the mourning of the barbarians, who, in their grief for Masistius, cut off their hair and the manes of their horses and mules, and filled all the plain with their cries and groans, as having lost the man that was next to Mardonius in courage and authority.

After this engagement with the Persian cavalry, both sides forbore the combat a long time, for the diviners, from the entrails of the victims, equally assured the Persians and the Greeks of victory if they stood upon the defensive, and threatened a total defeat to the aggressors. But at length Mardonius, seeing but a few days' provision left, and that the Grecian forces increased daily by the arrival of fresh troops, grew uneasy at the delay, and resolved to pass the Asopus next morning by break of day, and fall upon the Greeks, whom he

hoped to find unprepared. For this purpose he gave his orders over night. But at midnight a man on horseback softly approached the Grecian camp, and, addressing himself to the sentinels, bade them call Aristides, the Athenian general, to him. Aristides came immediately, and the unknown person said, "I am Alexander, King of Macedon, who, for the friendship I bear to you, have exposed myself to the greatest dangers to prevent your fighting under the disadvantage of a surprise, for Mardonius will give you battle to-morrow; not that he is induced to it by any well-grounded hope or prospect of success, but by the scarcity of provisions; for the soothsayers, by their ominous sacrifices and ill-boding oracles, endeavoured to divert him from it; but necessity forces him either to hazard a battle or to sit still and see his whole army perish through want." Alexander, having thus opened himself to Aristides, desired him to take notice and avail himself of the intelligence, but not to communicate it to any other person. Aristides, however, thought it wrong to conceal it from Pausanias, who was commander-in-chief; but he promised not to mention the thing to any one besides until after the battle, and assured him at the same time that if the Greeks proved victorious, the whole army should be acquainted with this kindness and glorious daring conduct of Alexander.

The King of Macedon, having despatched this affair, returned, and Aristides went immediately to the tent to Pausanias, and laid the whole before him, whereupon the other officers were sent for, and ordered to put the troops under arms, and have them ready for battle. At the same time, according to Herodotus, Pausanias informed Aristides of his design to alter the disposition of the army by removing the Athenians from the left wing to the right, and setting them to oppose the Persians, against whom they would act with more bravery, because they had made proof of their manner of fighting, and with greater assurance of success because they had already succeeded. As for the left wing, which would have to do with those Greeks that had embraced the Median interest, he intended to command there himself. The other Athenian officers thought Pausanias carried it with a partial and high hand in moving them up and down like so many *helots*, at his pleasure, to face the boldest of the enemy's troops, while he left the rest of the confederates in their posts. But Aristides told them they were under a great mistake. "You contended," said he, "a few days ago with the Tegetæ for the command of the left wing, and valued yourselves

upon the preference; and now, when the Spartans voluntarily offer you the right wing, which is in effect giving up to you the command of the whole army, you are neither pleased with the honour, nor sensible of the advantage, of not being obliged to fight against your countrymen and those who have the same origin with you, but against barbarians, your natural enemies."

These words had such an effect upon the Athenians that they readily agreed to change posts with the Spartans, and nothing was heard among them but mutual exhortations to act with bravery. They observed "that the enemy brought neither better arms nor bolder hearts than they had at Marathon, but came with the same bows, the same embroidered vests and profusion of gold, the same effeminate bodies, and the same unmanly souls. For our part," continued they, "we have the same weapons and strength of body, together with additional spirits from our victories, and we do not, like them, fight for a tract of land or a single city, but for the trophies of Marathon and Salamis, that the people of Athens, and not Miltiades and fortune, may have the glory of them."

While they were thus encouraging each other they hastened to their new post. But the Thebans, being informed of it by deserters, sent and acquainted Mardonius, who, either out of fear of the Athenians or from an ambition to try his strength with the Lacedæmonians, immediately moved the Persians to his right wing, and the Greeks that were of his party to the left, opposite to the Athenians. This change in the disposition of the enemy's army being known, Pausanias made another movement, and passed to the right, which, Mardonius perceiving, returned to the left, and so still faced the Lacedæmonians. Thus the day passed without any action at all. In the evening the Grecians held a council of war, in which they determined to decamp, and take possession of a place more commodious for water, because the springs of their present camp were disturbed and spoiled by the enemy's horse.

When night was come, and the officers began to march at the head of their troops to the place marked out for a new camp, the soldiers followed unwillingly, and could not without great difficulty be kept together, for they were no sooner out of their first entrenchments than many of them made off to the city of Platæa, and, either dispersing there or pitching their tents without any regard to discipline, were in the utmost confusion. It happened that the Lacedæmonians alone were left behind, though against their will. For Amompharetus, an

intrepid man, who had long been eager to engage, and uneasy to see the battle so often put off and delayed, plainly called this decampment a disgraceful flight, and declared "he would not quit his post, but remain there with his troops, and stand it out against Mardonius." And when Pausanias represented to him that this measure was taken in pursuance of the counsel and determination of the confederates, he took up a large stone with both his hands, and, throwing it at Pausanias's feet, said, "This is my ballot for a battle, and I despise the timid counsels and resolves of others." Pausanias was at a loss what to do, but at last sent to the Athenians, who by this time were advancing, and desired them to halt a little, that they might all proceed in a body; at the same time he marched with the rest of the troops towards Platæa, hoping by that means to draw Amompharetus after him.

By this time it was day, and Mardonius, who was not ignorant that the Greeks had quitted their camp, put his army in order of battle and bore down upon the Spartans, the barbarians setting up such shouts and clanking their arms in such a manner as if they expected to have only the plundering of fugitives, and not a battle. And indeed it was like to have been so, for though Pausanias, upon seeing the motion of Mardonius, stopped and ordered every one to his post, yet, either confused with his resentment against Amompharetus or with the sudden attack of the Persians, he forgot to give his troops the word, and for that reason they neither engaged readily, nor in a body, but continued scattered in small parties even after the fight was begun.

Pausanias in the meantime offered sacrifice; but seeing no auspicious tokens, he commanded the Lacedæmonians to lay down their shields at their feet, and to stand still and attend his orders, without opposing the enemy. After this he offered other sacrifices, the Persian cavalry still advancing. They were now within bow-shot, and some of the Spartans were wounded, among whom was Callicrates, a man that for size and beauty exceeded the whole army. This brave soldier being shot with an arrow, and ready to expire, said, "He did not lament his death, because he came out resolved to shed his blood for Greece; but he was sorry to die without having once drawn his sword against the enemy."

If the terror of this situation was great, the steadiness and patience of the Spartans was wonderful, for they made no defence against the enemy's charge, but, waiting the time of

Heaven and their general, suffered themselves to be wounded and slain in their ranks.

Some say that as Pausanias was sacrificing and praying at a little distance from the lines, certain Lydians coming suddenly upon him, seized and scattered the sacred utensils, and that Pausanias and those about him, having no weapons, drove them away with rods and scourges. And they will have it to be in imitation of this assault of the Lydians that they celebrate a festival at Sparta now, in which boys are scourged round the altar, and which concludes with a march called the *Lydian march*.

Pausanias, extremely afflicted at these circumstances, while the priest offered sacrifice upon sacrifice, turning towards the temple of Juno, and with tears trickling from his eyes, and uplifted hands, prayed to that goddess, the protectress of Cithæron, and to the other tutelar deities of the Plateans, "That if the fates had not decreed that the Grecians should conquer, they might at least be permitted to sell their lives dear, and show the enemy by their deeds that they had brave men and experienced soldiers to deal with."

The very moment that Pausanias was uttering this prayer, the tokens so much desired appeared in the victim, and the diviners announced him victory. Orders were immediately given the whole army to come to action, and the Spartan phalanx all at once had the appearance of some fierce animal erecting his bristles, and preparing to exert his strength. The barbarians then saw clearly that they had to do with men who were ready to spill the last drop of their blood; and therefore covering themselves with their targets, shot their arrows against the Lacedæmonians. The Lacedæmonians moving forward in a close compact body, fell upon the Persians, and forcing their targets from them, directed their pikes against their faces and breasts, and brought many of them to the ground. However, when they were down they continued to give proofs of their strength and courage, for they laid hold on the pikes with their naked hands and broke them, and then springing up betook themselves to their swords and battle-axes, and wresting away their enemies' shields and grappling close with them, made a long and obstinate resistance.

The Athenians all this time stood still, expecting the Lacedæmonians; but when the noise of the battle reached them, and an officer, as we are told, despatched by Pausanias, gave them an account that the engagement was begun, they

hastened to his assistance; and as they were crossing the plain toward the place where the noise was heard, the Greeks who sided with the enemy pushed against them. As soon as Aristides saw them, he advanced a considerable way before his troops, and calling out to them with all his force, conjured them by the gods of Greece, "To renounce this impious war, and not oppose the Athenians who were running to the succour of those that were now the first to hazard their lives for the safety of Greece." But finding that, instead of hearkening to him, they approached in a hostile manner, he quitted his design of going to assist the Lacedæmonians, and joined battle with these Greeks, who were about five thousand in number. But the greatest part soon gave way and retreated, especially when they heard that the barbarians were put to flight. The sharpest part of this action is said to have been with the Thebans; among whom the first in quality and power, having embraced the Median interest, by their authority carried out the common people against their inclination.

The battle, thus divided into two parts, the Lacedæmonians first broke and routed the Persians; and Mardonius himself was slain by a Spartan named Arimnestus, who broke his skull with a stone, as the oracle of Amphiaraus had foretold him. For Mardonius had sent a Lydian to consult this oracle, and at the same time a Carian to the cave of Trophonius. The priest of Trophonius answered the Carian in his own language; but the Lydian, as he slept in the temple of Amphiaraus, thought he saw a minister of the god approach him, who commanded him to be gone, and, upon his refusal, threw a great stone at his head, so that he believed himself killed by the blow. Such is the account we have of that affair.

The barbarians, flying before the Spartans, were pursued to their camp, which they had fortified with wooden walls; and soon after the Athenians routed the Thebans, killing three hundred persons of the first distinction on the spot. Just as the Thebans began to give way, news was brought that the barbarians were shut up and besieged in their wooden fortification; the Athenians, therefore, suffering the Greeks to escape, hastened to assist in the siege; and finding that the Lacedæmonians, unskilled in the storming of walls, made but a slow progress, they attacked and took the camp,* with a prodigious

* The spoil was immense, consisting of vast sums of money, of gold and silver cups, vessels, tables, bracelets, rich beds, and all sorts of furniture. They gave the tenth of all to Pausanias

slaughter of the enemy. For it is said that out of the three hundred thousand men, only forty thousand escaped with Artabazus; whereas of those that fought in the cause of Greece, no more were slain than one thousand three hundred and sixty; among whom were fifty-two Athenians, all, according to Clidemus, of the tribe of Aiantis, which greatly distinguished itself in that action. And therefore, by order of the Delphic oracle, the Aiantidæ offered a yearly sacrifice of thanksgiving for the victory to the nymphs *Sphragitides*, having the expense defrayed out of the treasury. The Lacedæmonians lost ninety-one, and the Tegetæ sixteen. But it is surprising that Herodotus should say that these were the only Greeks that engaged the barbarians, and that no other were concerned in the action. For both the number of the slain and the monuments shew that it was the common achievement of the confederates, and the altar erected on that occasion would not have had the following inscription if only three states had engaged, and the rest sat still —

The Greeks their country freed, the Persians slain,
Have rear'd this altar on the glorious field
To freedom's patron, Jove

This battle was fought on the fourth of Boedromion (*September*) according to the Athenian way of reckoning; but, according to the Boeotian computation, on the twenty-fourth of the month *Panemus*. And on that day there is still a general assembly of the Greeks at Platea, and the Plateans sacrifice to Jupiter *the deliverer*, for the victory.

This victory went near to be the ruin of Greece. For the Athenians, unwilling to allow the Spartans the honour of the day, or to consent that they should erect the trophy, would have referred it to the decision of the sword, had not Aristides taken great pains to explain the matter, and pacify the other generals, particularly Locrates and Myronides, and persuading them to leave it to the judgment of the Greeks. A council was called accordingly, in which Theogiton gave it as his opinion, "That those two states should give up the palm to a third, if they desired to prevent a civil war." Then Cleocritus the Corinthian rose up, and it was expected he would set forth the pretensions of Corinth to the prize of valour, as the city next in dignity to Sparta and Athens; but they were most agreeably surprised when they found that he spoke in behalf of the Plateans, and proposed, "That, all disputes laid aside, the palm should be adjudged to them, since neither of the con-

tending parties could be jealous of them." Aristides was the first to give up the point for the Athenians, and then Pausanias did the same for the Lacedæmonians.

The confederates thus reconciled, eighty talents were set apart for the Plateæans, with which they built a temple, and erected a statue to Minerva; adorning the temple with paintings, which to this day retain their original beauty and lustre. Both the Lacedæmonians and Athenians erected trophies separately; and sending to consult the oracle at Delphi about the sacrifice they were to offer, they were directed by Apollo, "To build an altar to Jupiter *the deliverer*, but not to offer any sacrifice upon it till they had extinguished all the fire in the country (because it had been polluted by the barbarians), and supplied themselves with pure fire from the common altar at Delphi." Hereupon the Grecian generals went all over the country, and caused the fires to be put out, and Euchidas, a Plateæan, undertaking to fetch fire with all imaginable speed from the altar of the god, went to Delphi, sprinkled and purified himself there with water, put a crown of laurel on his head, took fire from the altar, and then hastened back to Plateæa, where he arrived before sunset, thus performing a journey of a thousand furlongs in one day. But, having saluted his fellow-citizens and delivered the fire, he fell down on the spot, and presently expired. The Plateæans carried him to the temple of Diana, surnamed Eucleia, and buried him there, putting this short inscription on his tomb:

Here lies *Euchidas*, who went to Delphi, and returned the same day.

As for *Eucleia*, the generality believe her to be Diana, and call her by that name; but some say she was daughter to Hercules, and Myrto the daughter of Menœceus, and sister of Patroclus; and that dying a virgin, she had divine honours paid her by the Bœotians and Locrians. For in the market-place of every city of theirs she has a statue and an altar, where persons of both sexes that are betrothed offer sacrifice before marriage.

In the first general assembly of the Greeks after this victory, Aristides proposed a decree, "That deputies from all the states of Greece should meet annually at Plateæa, to sacrifice to Jupiter *the deliverer*, and that every fifth year they should celebrate the games of *liberty*; that a general levy should be made through Greece of ten thousand foot, a thousand horse, and a hundred ships, for the war against the barbarians; and

that the Plataeans should be exempt, being set apart for the service of the god, to propitiate him in behalf of Greece, and consequently their persons to be esteemed sacred.”

These articles passing into a law, the Plataeans undertook to celebrate the anniversary of those that were slain and buried in that place, and they continue it to this day. The ceremony is as follows:—On the sixteenth day of Maimacterion (*November*), which with the Boeotians is the month *Alalcomenius*, the procession begins at break of day, preceded by a trumpet which sounds the signal of battle. Then follow several chariots full of garlands and branches of myrtle, and next to the chariots is led a black bull. Then come some young men that are free-born, carrying vessels full of wine and milk, for the libations, and cruetts of oil and perfumed essences; no slave being allowed to have any share in this ceremony, sacred to the memory of men that died for liberty. The procession closes with the Archon of Plataea, who at other times is not allowed either to touch iron, or to wear any garments but a white one; but that day he is clothed with a purple robe, and girt with a sword; and carrying in his hand a water-pot, taken out of the public hall, he walks through the midst of the city to the tombs. Then he takes water in the pot out of a fountain, and, with his own hands, washes the little pillars of the monuments, and rubs them with essences. After this he kills the bull upon a pile of wood; and having made his supplications to the terrestrial Jupiter,* and to Mercury, he invites those brave men who fell in the cause of Greece to the funeral banquet, and the streams of blood. Last of all he fills a bowl with wine, and pouring it out, he says, “I present this bowl to the men who died for the liberties of Greece.” Such is the ceremony still observed by the Plataeans.

When the Athenians were returned home, Aristides, observing that they used their utmost endeavours to make the government entirely democratical, considered, on one side, that the people deserved some attention and respect, on account of their gallant behaviour; and, on the other, that being elated with their victories, it would be difficult to force them to depart from their purpose; and therefore he caused a decree to be made, that all the citizens should have a share in the administration, and that the *Archons* should be chosen out of the whole body of them.

Themistocles having one day declared to the general assembly

* The terrestrial Jupiter is Pluto.

that he had thought of an expedient which was very salutary to Athens,* but ought to be kept secret, he was ordered to communicate it to Aristides only, and abide by his judgment of it. Accordingly he told him his project was to burn the whole fleet of the confederates; by which means the Athenians would be raised to the sovereignty of all Greece. Aristides then returned to the assembly, and acquainted the Athenians, "That nothing could be more advantageous than the project of Themistocles, nor anything more unjust." And upon his report of the matter, they commanded Themistocles to give over all thoughts of it. Such regard had that people for justice, and so much confidence in the integrity of Aristides.

Some time after this† he was joined in commission with Cimon, and sent against the barbarians; where, observing that Pausanias and the other Spartan generals behaved with excessive haughtiness, he chose a quite different manner, shewing much mildness and condescension in his whole conversation and address, and prevailing with Cimon to behave with equal goodness and affability to the whole league. Thus he insensibly drew the chief command from the Lacedæmonians, not by force of arms, horses, or ships, but by his gentle and obliging deportment. For the justice of Aristides, and the candour of Cimon, having made the Athenians very agreeable to the confederates, their regard was increased by the contrast they found in Pausanias's avarice and severity of manners. For he never spoke to the officers of the allies but with sharpness and anger, and he ordered many of their men to be flogged, or to stand all day with an iron anchor on their shoulders. He would not suffer any of them to provide themselves with forage, or straw to lie on, or to go to the springs for water, before the Spartans were supplied, but placed his servants there with rods, to drive away those who should attempt it. And when Aristides was going to remonstrate with him upon it, he knit his brows, and, telling him, "He was not at leisure," refused to hear him.

From that time the sea-captains and land-officers of the Greeks, particularly those of Chios, Samos, and Lesbos, pressed Aristides to take upon him the command of the confederate forces, and to receive them into his protection, since they had long desired to be delivered from the Spartan yoke, and to act under the orders of the Athenians. He answered, "That he

* This was before the battle of Platæa, at the time when Xerxes was put to flight and driven back into Asia

† Eight years after.

saw the necessity and justice of what they proposed, but that the proposal ought first to be confirmed by some act, which would make it impossible for the troops to depart from their resolution." Hereupon Uades of Samos, and Antagoras of Chios, conspiring together, went boldly and attacked Pausanias's galley at the head of the fleet. Pausanias, upon this insolence, cried out in a menacing tone, "He would soon shew those fellows they had not offered this insult to his ship, but to their own countries." But they told him, "The best thing he could do was to retire, and thank fortune for fighting for him at Plateæ; for that nothing but the regard they had for that great action restrained the Greeks from wreaking their just vengeance on him." The conclusion was that they quitted the Spartan banners, and ranged themselves under those of the Athenians.

On this occasion, the magnanimity of the Spartan people appeared with great lustre. For as soon as they perceived their generals were spoiled with too much power, they sent no more, but voluntarily gave up their pretensions to the chief command; choosing rather to cultivate in their citizens a principle of modesty and tenaciousness of the laws and customs of their country, than to possess the sovereign command of Greece.

While the Lacedæmonians had the command, the Greeks paid a certain tax towards the war; and now, being desirous that every city might be more equally rated, they begged the favour of the Athenians that Aristides might take it upon him, and gave him instructions to inspect their lands and revenues, in order to proportion the burden of each to its ability.

Aristides, invested with this authority, which, in a manner, made him master of all Greece, did not abuse it. For though he went out poor, he returned poorer, having settled the quotas of the several states, not only justly and disinterestedly, but with so much tenderness and humanity, that his assessment was agreeable and convenient to all. And as the ancients praised the times of Saturn, so the allies of Athens blessed the settlements of Aristides, calling it *the happy fortune of Greece*: a compliment which soon after appeared still more just, when this taxation was twice or three times as high. For that of Aristides amounted only to four hundred and sixty talents, and Pericles increased it almost one third; for Thucydides writes, that at the beginning of the war, the Athenians received from their allies six hundred talents; and after the death of Pericles, those that had the administration in their hands raised it by little and little to the sum of thirteen

hundred talents. Not that the war grew more expensive, either by its length or want of success, but because they had accustomed the people to receive distributions of money for the public spectacles and other purposes, and had made them fond of erecting magnificent statues and temples.

The great and illustrious character which Aristides acquired by the equity of this taxation piqued Themistocles; and he endeavoured to turn the praise bestowed upon him into ridicule, by saying, "It was not the praise of a man, but of a money-chest, to keep treasure without diminution." By this he took but a feeble revenge for the freedom of Aristides. For one day Themistocles happening to say, "That he looked upon it as the principal excellence of a general to know and foresee the designs of the enemy," Aristides answered, "That is indeed a necessary qualification; but there is another very excellent one, and highly becoming a general, and that is, to have clean hands."

When Aristides had settled the articles of alliance, he called upon the confederates to confirm them with an oath, which he himself took on the part of the Athenians; and, at the same time that he uttered the execration on those who would break the articles, he threw red-hot pieces of iron into the sea. However, when the urgency of affairs afterwards required the Athenians to govern Greece with a stricter hand than those conditions justified, he advised them to let the consequences of the perjury rest with him, and pursue the path which expediency pointed out. Upon the whole, Theophrastus says, that in all his own private concerns, and in those of his fellow-citizens, he was inflexibly just; but in affairs of state, he did many things according to the exigency of the case, to serve his country, which seemed often to have need of the assistance of injustice. And he relates, that when it was debated in council whether the treasure deposited at Delos should be brought to Athens, as the Samians had advised, though contrary to treaties, on its coming to his turn to speak, he said, "It was not just, but it was expedient."

This must be said, notwithstanding, that though he extended the dominions of Athens over so many people, he himself still continued poor, and esteemed his poverty no less a glory than all the laurels he had won. The following is a clear proof of it. Callias the torch-bearer, who was his near relation, was prosecuted in a capital cause by his enemies. When they had alleged what they had against him, which was nothing very flagrant, they launched out into something foreign to their own

charge, and thus addressed the judges: "You know Aristides, the son of Lysimachus, who is justly the admiration of all Greece. When you see with what a garb he appears in public, in what manner do you think he must live at home? Must not he who shivers here with cold for want of clothing, be almost famished there, and destitute of all necessities? yet this is the man whom Callias, his cousin-german, and the richest man in Athens, absolutely neglects, and leaves, with his wife and children, in such wretchedness, though he has often made use of him, and availed himself of his interest with you." Callias, perceiving that this point affected and exasperated his judges more than anything else, called for Aristides to testify before the court, that he had many times offered him considerable sums, and strongly pressed him to accept them, but he had always refused them, in such terms as these: "It better becomes Aristides to glory in his poverty than Callias in his riches; for we see every day many people make a good as well as a bad use of riches, but it is hard to find one that bears poverty with a noble spirit; and they only are ashamed of it who are poor against their will." When Aristides had given in his evidence, there was not a man in the court who did not leave it with an inclination rather to be poor with him than rich with Callias. This particular we have from *Æschines*, the disciple of *Socrates*. And *Plato*, among all that were accounted great and illustrious men in Athens, judged none but Aristides worthy of real esteem. As for *Themistocles*, *Cimon*, and *Pericles*, they filled the city with magnificent buildings, with wealth, and the vain superfluities of life; but virtue was the only object that Aristides had in view in the whole course of his administration.

We have extraordinary instances of the candour with which he behaved towards *Themistocles*. For though he was his constant enemy in all affairs of government, and the means of his banishment, yet when *Themistocles* was accused of capital crimes against the state, and he had an opportunity to pay him in kind, he indulged not the least revenge; but while *Alcmæon*, *Cimon*, and many others were accusing him and driving him into exile, Aristides alone neither did nor said anything to his disadvantage; for, as he had not envied his prosperity, so now he did not rejoice in his misfortunes.

As to the death of Aristides, some say it happened in *Pontus*, whither he had sailed about some business of the state; others say he died at Athens, full of days, honoured and admired by

his fellow-citizens; but Craterus the Macedonian gives us another account of the death of this great man. He tells us, that after the banishment of Themistocles, the insolence of the people gave encouragement to a number of villainous informers, who, attacking the greatest and best men, rendered them obnoxious to the populace, now much elated with prosperity and power. Aristides himself was not spared, but on a charge brought against him by Diophantus of Amphitrope, was condemned for taking a bribe of the Ionians, at the time he levied the tax. He adds, that being unable to pay his fine, which was fifty *mina*, he sailed to some part of Ionia, and there died. But Craterus gives us no written proof of this assertion. The other historians, without exception, who have given us accounts of the unjust behaviour of the people of Athens to their generals, among many other instances dwell upon the banishment of Themistocles, the imprisonment of Miltiades, the fine imposed upon Pericles, and the death of Paches, who, upon receiving sentence, killed himself in the judgment-hall, at the foot of the tribunal. Nor do they forget the banishment of Aristides, but they say not one word of this condemnation.

Besides, his monument is still to be seen at Phalereum, and is said to have been erected at the public charge, because he did not leave enough to defray the expenses of his funeral. They inform us, too, that the city provided for the marriage of his daughters, and that each of them had three thousand *drachmae* to her portion out of the treasury; and to his son Lysimachus the people of Athens gave a hundred *mine* of silver, and a plantation of as many acres of land, with a pension of four *drachmae* a day; the whole being confirmed to him by a decree drawn up by Alcibiades. Callisthenes adds, that Lysimachus at his death leaving a daughter named Polycrite, the people ordered her the same subsistence with those that had conquered at the Olympic games.

THEMISTOCLES.



HE family of Themistocles was too obscure to raise him to distinction. He was the son of Neocles, an inferior citizen of Athens, of the ward of Phrear, and the tribe of Leontis. By his mother's side, he is said to have been illegitimate* according to the following lines.—

Though born in Thrace, Abrotonon my name,
My son enrols me in the lists of fame,
The great Themistocles.

Yet Phanias writes, that the mother of Themistocles was of Caria, not of Thrace, and that her name was not Abrotonon but Euterpe. Neanthes mentions Ialycarnassus as the city to which she belonged. But be that as it may, when all the illegitimate youth assembled at Cynosarges, in the wrestling ring dedicated to Hercules, without the gates, which was appointed for that purpose—because Hercules himself was not altogether of divine extraction, but had a mortal for his mother—Themistocles found means to persuade some of the young noblemen to go to Cynosarges and take their exercise with him. This was an ingenious contrivance to take away the distinction between the illegitimate or aliens, and the legitimate, whose parents were both Athenians. It is plain, however, that he was related to the house of the Lycomedæ; for Simonides informs us, that when a chapel of that family in the ward of Phyle, where the mysteries of Ceres used to be celebrated, was burned down by the barbarians, Themistocles rebuilt it, and adorned it with pictures.

It appears that when a boy he was full of spirit and fire, quick of apprehension, naturally inclined to bold attempts, and likely to make a great statesman. His hours of leisure and vacation he spent, not like other boys, in idleness and play; but he was always inventing and composing declamations; the subjects of which were either the impeachment or defence of some of his schoolfellows; so that his master would often say, "Boy, you will be nothing common or indifferent; you will

* That is, an alien.

either be a blessing or a curse to the community." As for moral philosophy, and the polite arts, he learned them but slowly, and with little satisfaction; but instructions in political knowledge, and the administration of public affairs, he received with an attention above his years, because they suited his genius. When, therefore, he was laughed at, long after, in company where free scope was given to railery, by persons who passed as more accomplished in what was called genteel breeding, he was obliged to answer them with some asperity: "'Tis true I never learned how to tune a harp, or play upon a lute, but I know how to raise a small and inconsiderable city to glory and greatness."

Stesimbrotus, indeed, informs us that Themistocles studied natural philosophy, both under Anaxagoras and Melissus; but in this he errs against chronology.* For when Pericles, who was much younger than Themistocles, besieged Samos, Melissus defended it, and Anaxagoras lived with Pericles. Those seem to deserve more attention who say that Themistocles was a follower of Mnesiphilus the Phrearian, who was neither orator nor natural philosopher, but a professor of what was then called wisdom, which consisted in a knowledge of the arts of government, and the practical part of political prudence. This was a sect formed upon the principles of Solon, and descending in succession from him; but when the science of government came to be mixed with forensic arts, and passed from action to mere words, its professors, instead of sages, were called sophists.† Themistocles, however, was conversant in public business when he attended the lectures of Mnesiphilus.

In the first sallies of youth, he was irregular and unsteady; as he followed his own disposition without any moral restraints. But he seemed to apologise for this afterwards, when he observed, that *the wildest colts make the best horses, when they come to be properly broke and managed*. The stories, however, which some tell us of his father's dismembering him, and his mother's laying violent hands upon herself, because she could not bear the thoughts of her son's infamy, seem to be

Anaxagoras was born in the first year of the 70th olympiad, Themistocles won the battle of Salamis the first year of the 75th olympiad, and Melissus defended Samos against Pericles the last year of the 84th olympiad. Themistocles, therefore, could neither study under Anaxagoras, who was only twenty years old when that general gained the battle of Salamis, nor yet under Melissus, who did not begin to flourish till 36 years after that battle.

† The Sophists were rather rhetoricians than philosophers, skilled in words, but superficial in knowledge, as Diogenes Laertius informs us.

quite fictitious. Others, on the contrary, say that his father, to dissuade him from accepting any public employment, showed him some old galleys that lay worn out and neglected on the sea shore, just as the people neglect their leaders when they have no further service for them.

Themistocles had an early and violent inclination for public business, and was so strongly smitten with the love of glory, with an ambition of the highest station, that he involved himself in troublesome quarrels with persons of the first rank and influence in the state, particularly with Aristides, the son of Lysimachus, who always opposed him. Their enmity began early, but the cause, as Ariston the philosopher relates, was nothing more than their regard for Ptesileus of Teos. After this their disputes continued about public affairs; and the dissimilarity of their lives and manners naturally added to it. Aristides was of a mild temper and of great probity. He managed the concerns of government with inflexible justice, not with a view to ingratiate himself with the people, or to promote his own glory, but solely for the advantage and safety of the state. He was, therefore, necessarily obliged to oppose Themistocles, and to prevent his promotion, because he frequently put the people upon unwarrantable enterprises and was ambitious of introducing great innovations. Indeed, Themistocles was so carried away with the love of glory, so immoderately desirous of distinguishing himself by some great action, that, though he was very young when the battle of Marathon was fought, and when the generalship of Miltiades was everywhere extolled, yet even then he was observed to keep much alone, to be very pensive, to watch whole nights, and not to attend the usual entertainments. When he was asked the reason by his friends, who wondered at the change, he said, *The trophies of Miltiades would not suffer him to sleep.* While others imagined the defeat of the Persians at Marathon had put an end to the war, he considered it as the beginning of greater conflicts; and, for the benefit of Greece, he was always preparing himself and the Athenians against those conflicts, because he foresaw them at a distance.

And in the first place, whereas the Athenians had used to share the revenue of the silver mines of Laurium among themselves, he alone had the courage to make a motion to the people, that they should divide them in that manner no longer, but build with them a number of galleys to be employed in the war against the Æginetæ, who then made a considerable figure in

Greece, and by means of their numerous navy were masters of the sea. By seasonably stirring up the resentment and emulation of his countrymen against these islanders, he the more easily prevailed with them to provide themselves with ships, than if he had displayed the terrors of Darius and the Persians, who were at a greater distance, and of whose coming they had no great apprehensions. With this money, a hundred galleys with three banks of oars were built, which afterwards fought against Xerxes. From this step he proceeded to others, in order to draw the attention of the Athenians to maritime affairs, and to convince them that, though by land they were not able to cope with their neighbours, yet with a naval force they might not only repel the barbarians, but hold all Greece in subjection. Thus of good land forces, as Plato says, he made them mariners and seamen, and brought upon himself the aspersion of taking from his countrymen the spear and the shield, and sending them to the bench and the oar. Stesimbrotus writes, that Themistocles effected this in spite of the opposition of Miltiades. Whether by this proceeding he corrupted the simplicity of the Athenian constitution is a speculation not proper to be indulged here. But that the Greeks owed their safety to these naval applications, and that those ships re-established the city of Athens after it had been destroyed (to omit other proofs), Xerxes himself is a sufficient witness. For, after his defeat at sea, he was no longer able to make head against the Athenians, though his land forces remained entire; and it seems to me that he left Mardonius rather to prevent a pursuit than with any hope of his bringing Greece into subjection.

Some authors write that Themistocles was intent upon the acquisition of money with a view to spend it profusely; and, indeed, for his frequent sacrifices, and the splendid manner in which he entertained strangers, he had need of a large supply. Yet others, on the contrary, accuse him of meanness and attention to trifles, and say he even sold presents that were made him for his table. Nay, when he begged a colt of Philides, who was a breeder of horses, and was refused, he threatened *he would soon make a Trojan horse of his house*, enigmatically hinting that he would raise up troubles and impeachments against him from some of his own family.

In ambition, however, he had no equal. For when he was yet young and but little known, he prevailed upon Epicles of Hermione, a performer upon the lyre, much valued by the Athenians, to practise at his house, hoping by this means to draw

a great number of people thither. And when he went to the Olympic games he endeavoured to equal or exceed Cimon in the elegance of his table, the splendour of his pavilions, and the expenses of his train. These things, however, were not agreeable to the Greeks. They looked upon them as suitable to a young man of a noble family; but when an obscure person set himself up so much above his fortune, he gained nothing by it but the imputation of vanity. He exhibited a tragedy, too, at his own expense, and gained the prize with his tragedians at a time when those entertainments were pursued with great avidity and emulation. In memory of his success he put up this inscription: *Themistocles the Phrearian exhibited the tragedy; Phrynichus composed it, Admantus presided.* This gained him popularity; and what added to it was his charging his memory with the names of the citizens, so that he readily called each by his own. He was an impartial judge, too, in the causes that were brought before him; and Simonides of Ceos * making an unreasonable request to him when archon, he answered, *Neither would you be a good poet if you transgressed the rules of harmony; nor I a good magistrate if I granted your petition contrary to law.* Another time he rallied Simonides for his absurdity in abusing the Corinthians, who inhabited so elegant a city; and having his own picture drawn when he had so ill-favoured an aspect.

At length, having attained to a great height of power and popularity, his faction prevailed, and he procured the banishment of Aristides by what is called the *Ostracism*. |

The Medes now preparing to invade Greece again, the Athenians considered who should be their general; and many, we are told, thinking the commission dangerous, declined it. But Epicydes, the son of Euphemides, a man of more eloquence than courage, and capable withal of being bribed, solicited it, and was likely to be chosen. Themistocles, fearing the consequence would be fatal to the public if the choice fell upon

* Simonides celebrated the battles of Marathon and Salamis in his poems, and was the author of several odes and elegies, some of which are still extant and well known.

† By this, men who became powerful to such a degree as to threaten the state with danger, were banished for ten years, and they were to quit the Athenian territories in ten days. The method of it was this every citizen took a piece of a broken pot or shell, on which he wrote the name of the person he would have banished. Thus done, the magistrates counted the shells, and if they amounted to 6000, sorted them; and the man whose name was found on the greatest number of shells, was of course exiled for ten years.

Epiecydes, prevailed upon him by pecuniary considerations to drop his pretensions.

His behaviour is also commended with respect to the interpreter who came with the King of Persia's ambassadors that were sent to demand earth and water. By a decree of the people he put him to death for presuming to make use of the Greek language to express the demands of the barbarians. To this we may add his proceedings in the affair of Arthumius, the Zelite, who, at his motion, was declared infamous, with his children and all his posterity, for bringing Persian gold into Greece. But that which redounded most of all to his honour was his putting an end to the Grecian wars, reconciling the several states to each other, and persuading them to lay aside their animosities during the war with Persia.

As soon as he had taken the command upon him, he endeavoured to persuade the people to quit the city, to embark on board their ships, and to meet the barbarians at as great a distance from Greece as possible. But, many opposing it, he marched at the head of a great army, together with the Lacedæmonians, to Tempe, intending to cover Thessaly, which had not as yet declared for the Persians. When he returned without effecting anything, the Thessalians having embraced the king's party, and all the country as far as Bœotia following their example, the Athenians were more willing to hearken to his proposal to fight the enemy at sea, and sent him with a fleet to guard the straits of Artemisium.

When the fleets of the several states were joined, and the majority were of opinion that Eurybiades should have the chief command, and with his Lacedæmonians began the engagement; the Athenians, who had a greater number of ships than all the rest united, thought it an indignity to part with the place of honour. But Themistocles, perceiving the danger of any disagreement at that time, gave up the command to Eurybiades, and satisfied the Athenians, by representing to them that if they behaved like men in the war, the Grecians would voluntarily yield them the superiority for the future. To him, therefore, Greece seems to owe her preservation, and the Athenians, in particular, the distinguished glory of surpassing their enemies in valour, and their allies in moderation.

The Persian fleet coming up to Aphæta, Eurybiades was astonished at such an appearance of ships, particularly when he was informed that there were two hundred more sailing round

Sciathus. He therefore was desirous, without loss of time, to draw nearer to Greece, and to keep close to the Peloponnesian coast, where he might have an army occasionally to assist the fleet; for he considered the naval force of the Persians as invincible. Upon this the Eubœans, apprehensive that the Greeks would forsake them, sent Pelagon to negotiate privately with Themistocles, and to offer him a large sum of money. He took the money and gave it (as Herodotus writes) to Eurybiades. Finding himself most opposed in his designs by Architeles, captain of the *sacred galley*,* who had not money to pay his men, and therefore intended immediately to withdraw; he so incensed his countrymen against him that they went in a tumultuous manner on board his ship, and took from him what he had provided for his supper. Architeles, being much provoked at this insult, Themistocles sent him in a chest a quantity of provisions, and at the bottom of it a talent of silver, and desired him to refresh himself that evening, and to satisfy his crew in the morning; otherwise, he would accuse him to the Athenians of having received a bribe from the enemy.

Though the several engagements | with the Persian fleet in the straits of Eubœa were not decisive, yet they were of great advantage to the Greeks, who learned by experience that neither the number of ships, nor the beauty and splendour of their ornaments, nor the vaunting shouts and songs of the barbarians, have anything dreadful in them to men that know how to fight hand to hand, and are determined to behave gallantly. These things they were taught to despise when they came to close action and grappled with the foe. In this case Pindar's sentiments appear just when he says of the fight at Artemisium,

'Twas then that Athens the foundation laid
Of Liberty's fair structure

Indeed, intrepid courage is the commencement of victory.

Artemisium is a maritime place of Eubœa, to the north of Hestiea. Over against it lies Olizon, in the territory that formerly was subject to Philocletes, where there is a small temple of Diana of the *East*, in the midst of a grove. The temple is encircled with pillars of white stone, which, when

* The *sacred galley* was that which the Athenians sent every year to Delos with sacrifices for Apollo, and they pretend it was the same in which Theseus carried the tribute to Crete.

† They came to three several engagements within three days

rubbed with the hand, has both the colour and smell of saffron. On one of the pillars are inscribed the following verses:—

When on these seas the sons of Athens conquered
The various powers of Asia, grateful here
They rear'd this temple to Diana.

There is a place still to be seen upon this shore, where there is a large heap of sand, which, if dug into, shows towards the bottom a black dust like ashes, as if some fire had been there; and this is supposed to have been that in which the wrecks of the ships and the bodies of the dead were burned.

The news of what had happened at Thermopylæ being brought to Artemisium,* when the confederates were informed that Leonidas was slain there, and Xerxes master of the passages by land, they sailed back to Greece; and the Athenians, elated with their late distinguished valour, brought up the rear. As Themistocles sailed along the coasts, wherever he saw any harbours or places proper for the enemy's ships to put in at, he took such stones as he happened to find, or caused to be brought thither for that purpose, and set them up in the ports and watering places, with the following inscription engraved in large characters, and addressed to the Ionians:—"Let the Ionians, if it be possible, come over to the Greeks, from whom they are descended, and who now risk their lives for their liberty. If this be impracticable, let them at least perplex the barbarians, and put them in disorder in time of action." By this he hoped either to bring the Ionians over to his side, or to sow discord among them, by causing them to be suspected by the Persians.

Though Xerxes had passed through Doris down to Phocis, and was burning and destroying the Phocian cities, yet the Greeks sent them no succours. And, notwithstanding all the entreaties the Athenians could use to prevail with the confederates to repair with them into Bœotia, and cover the frontiers of Attica, as they had sent a fleet to Artemisium to serve the common cause, no one gave ear to their request. All eyes were turned upon Peloponnesus, and all were determined to collect their forces within the *Isthmus*, and to build a wall across it from sea to sea. The Athenians were greatly incensed to see themselves thus betrayed, and, at the same time, dejected and discouraged

* The last engagement at Thermopylæ, wherein Xerxes forced the passes of the mountains by the defeat of the Lacedæmonians, Thespians, and Thebans, who had been left to guard them, happened on the same day with the battle at Artemisium, and the news of it was brought to Themistocles by an Athenian called Abromochus. Thermopylæ is well known to be a narrow pass in the mountains near the Euripus.

at so general a defection. They alone could not think of giving battle to so prodigious an army. To quit the city, and embark on board their ships, was the only expedient at present; and thus the generality were very unwilling to hearken to, as they could neither have any great ambition for victory, nor idea of safety, when they had left the temples of their gods and the monuments of their ancestors.

Themistocles, perceiving that he could not by the force of human reason prevail with the multitude, set his machinery to work, as a poet would do in a tragedy, and had recourse to prodigies and oracles. The prodigy he availed himself of was the disappearing of the dragon of Minerva, which at that time quitted the holy place; and the priests, finding the daily offerings set before it untouched, gave it out among the people, at the suggestion of Themistocles, that the goddess had forsaken the city, and that she offered to conduct them to sea. Moreover, by way of explaining to the people an oracle then received, he told them that, by *wooden walls*, there could not possibly be anything meant but ships; and that Apollo, now calling Salamis *divine*, not *wretched* and *unfortunate*, as formerly, signified by such an epithet, that it would be productive of some great advantage to Greece. His counsels prevailed, and he proposed a decree that the city should be left to the protection of Minerva, the tutelary goddess of the Athenians; that the young men should go on board the ships; and that every one should provide as well as he possibly could for the safety of the children, the women, and the slaves.

When this decree was made, most of the Athenians removed their parents and wives to Troezen, where they were received with a generous hospitality. The Troezenians came to a resolution to maintain them at the public expense, for which purpose they allowed each of them two *oboli* a day; they permitted the children to gather fruit wherever they pleased, and provided for their education by paying their tutors.

As the treasury of Athens was then but low, Aristotle informs us that the court of *Areopagus* distributed to every man who took part in the expedition eight *drachmas*, which was the principal means of manning the fleet. But Clidemus ascribes this also to a stratagem of Themistocles; for he tells us, that when the Athenians went down to the harbour of Piræus, the *Ægis* was lost from the statue of Minerva; and Themistocles, as he ransacked everything, under pretence of searching for it, found large sums of money hid among the baggage, which he

applied to the public use; and out of it all necessaries were provided for the fleet.

The embarkation of the people of Athens was a very affecting scene. What pity! What admiration of the firmness of those men, who, sending their parents and families to a distant place, unmoved with their cries, their tears, or embraces, had the fortitude to leave the city, and embark for Salamis! What greatly heightened the distress was the number of citizens whom they were forced to leave behind, because of their extreme old age. And some emotions of tenderness were due even to the tame domestic animals, which, running to the shore, with lamentable howlings, expressed their affection and regret for the persons that had fed them. One of these, a dog that belonged to Xanthippus, the father of Pericles, unwilling to be left behind, is said to have leapt into the sea, and to have swum by the side of the ship till it reached Salamis, where, quite spent with toil, it died immediately.

To these great actions of Themistocles may be added the following:—He perceived that Aristides was much regretted by the people, who were apprehensive that out of revenge he might join the Persians, and do great prejudice to the cause of Greece; he therefore caused a decree to be made, that all who had been banished only for a time should have leave to return, and by their counsel and valour assist their fellow-citizens in the preservation of their country.

Eurybiades, by reason of the dignity of Sparta, had the command of the fleet; but, as he was apprehensive of the danger, he proposed to set sail for the *Isthmus*, and fix his station near the Peloponnesian army. Themistocles, however, opposed it; and the account we have of the conference on that occasion deserves to be mentioned. When Eurybiades said, "Do not you know, Themistocles, that in the public games such as rise up before their turn are chastised for it?" "Yes," answered Themistocles; "yet such as are left behind never gain the crown." Eurybiades, upon this, lifting up his staff, as if he intended to strike him, Themistocles said, "Strike if you please, but hear me." The Lacedæmonians, admiring his command of temper, bade him speak what he had to say; and Themistocles was leading him back to the subject, when one of the officers thus interrupted him "It ill becomes you, who have no city, to advise us to quit our habitations and abandon our country." Themistocles retorted upon him thus: "Wretch that thou art, we have indeed left our walls and houses, not choosing, for the

sake of those inanimate things, to become slaves; yet we have still the most respectable city of Greece, in these two hundred ships, which are here ready to defend you, if you will give them leave. But if you forsake and betray us a second time, Greece shall soon find the Athenians possessed of as free a city, and as valuable a country as that which they have quitted." These words struck Eurybiades with the apprehension that the Athenians might fall off from him. We are told also, that as a certain Eretrian was attempting to speak, Themistocles said, "What! have you, too, something to say about war, who are like the fish that hath a sword, but no heart?"

While Themistocles was thus maintaining his arguments upon deck, some tell us an owl was seen flying to the right of the fleet,* which came and perched upon the shrouds. This omen determined the confederates to accede to his opinion, and to prepare for a sea fight. But no sooner did the enemy's fleet appear advancing towards the harbour of Phalerus in Attica, and covering all the neighbouring coasts, while Xerxes himself was seen marching his land forces to the shore, than the Greeks, struck with the sight of such prodigious armaments, began to forget the counsel of Themistocles, and the Peloponnesians once more looked towards the *Isthmus*. Nay, they resolved to set sail that very night, and such orders were given to all the pilots. Themistocles, greatly concerned that the Greeks were going to give up the advantage of their station in the straits, and to retire to their respective countries, contrived that stratagem which was put in execution by Sicinus. This Sicinus was of Persian extraction and a captive, but much attached to Themistocles and the tutor of his children. On this occasion Themistocles sent him privately to the king of Persia, with orders to tell him that the commander of the Athenians, having espoused his interest, was the first to inform him of the intended flight of the Greeks, and that he exhorted him not to suffer them to escape; but while they were in this confusion, and at a distance from their land forces, to attack and destroy their whole army.

Xerxes took this information kindly, supposing it to proceed from friendship, and immediately gave orders to his officers, with two hundred ships, to surround all the passages and to enclose the islands that none of the Greeks might escape, and then to follow with the rest of the ships at their leisure. Aristides, the son of Lysimachus, was the first that perceived

* The owl was sacred to Minerva, the protectress of the Athenians.

this motion of the enemy, and though he was not in friendship with Themistocles, but had been banished by his means (as has been related), he went to him and told him they were surrounded by the enemy.* Themistocles, knowing his probity, and charmed with his coming to give this intelligence, acquainted him with the affair of Sicinus, and entreated him to lend his assistance to keep the Greeks in their station, and, as they had a confidence in his honour, to persuade them to come to an engagement in the straits. Aristides approved the proceedings of Themistocles, and, going to the other admirals and captains, encouraged them to engage. While they hardly gave credit to his report, a Tenian galley, commanded by Parætiæus, came over from the enemy to bring the same account, so that indignation, added to necessity, excited the Greeks to their combat.

As soon as it was day Xerxes sat down on an eminence to view the fleet and its order of battle. He placed himself, as Phanodemus writes, above the temple of Hercules, where the isle of Salamis is separated from Attica by a narrow frith; but according to Acestodorus, on the confines of Megara, upon a spot called Kerata, the horns. He was seated on a throne of gold,† and had many secretaries about him, whose business it was to write down the particulars of the action.

In the meantime, as Themistocles was sacrificing on the deck of the admiral-galley, three captives were brought to him of uncommon beauty, elegantly attired, and set off with golden ornaments. They were said to be the sons of Autarctus and Sandace, sister to Xerxes. Euphrantide, the soothsayer, casting his eye upon them, and at the same time observing that a bright flame blazed out from the victims,‡ while a sneezing was heard from the right, took Themistocles by the hand and ordered that the three youths should be consecrated and sacrificed to Bacchus Omestes, for by this means the Greeks might be assured not only of safety, but victory.

* Aristides was not then in the confederate fleet, but in the isle of Ægina, from whence he sailed by night with great hazard, through the Persian fleet, to carry this intelligence.

† This throne, or seat, whether of gold or silver, or both, was taken and carried to Athens, where it was consecrated in the temple of the Minerva, with the golden sabbie of Maidomus, which was taken afterwards in the battle of Plataea.

‡ A bright flame was always considered as a fortunate omen whether it were a real one issuing from an altar or a seeming one (what we call shell-fire) from the head of a living person. A sneezing on the right hand, too, was deemed a lucky omen both by the Greeks and Latins.

Themistocles was astonished at the strangeness and cruelty of the order; but the multitude, who, in great and pressing difficulties, trust rather to absurd than rational methods, invoked the god with one voice, and leading the captives to the altar, insisted upon their being offered up as the soothsayer had directed.

As to the number of the Persian ships, the poet Æschylus speaks of it in his tragedy entitled *Persæ* as a matter he was well assured of

A thousand ships (for well I know the number)
The Persian flag obeyed, two hundred more
And seven, o'erspread the seas

The Athenians had only one hundred and eighty galleys; each carried eighteen men that fought upon deck, four of whom were archers, and the rest heavy armed.

If Themistocles was happy in choosing a place for action, he was no less so in taking advantage of a proper time for it; for he would not engage the enemy till that time of day when a brisk wind usually arises from the sea, which occasions a high surf in the channel. This was no inconvenience to the Grecian vessels, which were low built and well compacted, but a very great one to the Persian ships, which had high sterns and lofty decks, and were heavy and unwieldy, for it caused them to veer in such a manner that their sides were exposed to the Greeks, who attacked them furiously. During the whole dispute great attention was given to the motions of Themistocles, as it was believed he knew best how to proceed. Aramenes, the Persian admiral, a man of distinguished honour, and by far the bravest of the king's brothers, directed his manœuvres chiefly against him. His ship was very tall, and from thence he threw darts and shot forth arrows as from the walls of a castle. But Aminias the *Decclean*, and Sosicles the *Pedian*, who sailed in one bottom, bore down upon him with their prow, and, both ships meeting, they were fastened together by means of their brazen beaks, when Ariamenes, boarding their galley, they received him with their pikes and pushed him into the sea. Artemisia * knew the body amongst others that were floating with the wreck, and carried it to Xerxes.

While the fight was thus raging we are told a great light appeared, as from *Illeusis*, and loud sounds and voices were

* Artemisia, Queen of *Halicarnassus*, distinguished herself above all the rest of the Persian forces, her ships being the last that fled, which Xerxes observing, cried out that the men behaved like women, and the women with the courage and intrepidity of men.

heard through all the plain of Thriasia to the sea, as of a great number of people carrying the mystic symbols of Bacchus in procession. A cloud, too, seemed to rise from among the crowd that made this noise, and to ascend by degrees till it fell upon the galleys. Other phantoms also, and apparitions of armed men, they thought they saw, stretching out their hands from Ægina before the Grecian fleet. These they conjectured to be the *Æacidae*, to whom, before the battle, they had addressed their prayers for succour.

The first man that took a ship was an Athenian named Lycomedes, captain of a galley, who cut down the ensigns from the enemy's ship, and consecrated them to the *laurelled* Apollo. As the Persians could come up in the straits but few at a time, and often put each other in confusion, the Greeks equalling them in the line fought them till the evening, when they broke them entirely, and gained that signal and complete victory, than which (as Simonides says) no other naval achievement, either of the Greeks or barbarians, ever was more glorious. This success was owing to the valour, indeed, of all the confederates, but chiefly to the sagacity and conduct of Themistocles.*

After the battle, Xerxes, full of indignation at his disappointment, attempted to join Salamis to the continent by a mole so well secured that his land forces might pass over it into the island, and that he might shut up the pass entirely against the Greeks. At the same time, Themistocles, to sound Aristides, pretended it was his own opinion that they should sail to the Hellespont and break down the bridge of ships, "For so," says he, "we may take Asia without stirring out of Europe." Aristides did not in the least relish his proposal, but answered him to this purpose: "Till now we have had to do with an enemy immersed in luxury, but if we shut him up in Greece and drive him to necessity, he who is master of such prodigious forces will no longer sit under a golden canopy and be a quiet spectator of the proceedings of the war, but, awakened by danger, attempting everything, and present everywhere, he will correct his past errors and follow counsels better calculated for success. Instead, therefore, of breaking that bridge, we should if possible provide another that he may retire the sooner out of Europe." "If that is the case,"

* In this battle, which was one of the most memorable we find in history, the Grecians lost forty ships and the Persians two hundred, beside a great many more that were taken.

said Themistocles, "we must all consider and contrive how to put him upon the most speedy retreat out of Greece."

This being resolved upon, he sent one of the king's eunuchs, whom he found among the prisoners, Arnaces by name, to acquaint him, "That the Greeks, since their victory at sea were determined to sail to the Hellespont and destroy the bridge, but that Themistocles, in care for the king's safety, advised him to hasten towards his own seas and pass over into Asia, while his friend endeavoured to find out pretences of delay to prevent the confederates from pursuing him." Xerxes, terrified at the news, retired with the greatest precipitation. How prudent the management of Themistocles and Aristides was, Mardonius afforded a proof when, with a small part of the king's forces, he put the Greeks in extreme danger of losing all in the battle of Plataea.

Herodotus tells us that among the cities Ægina bore away the palm; but among the commanders, Themistocles, in spite of envy, was universally allowed to have distinguished himself most, for when they came to the Isthmus, and every officer took a billet from the altar* to inscribe upon it the names of those that had done the best service, every one put himself in the first place and Themistocles in the second. The Lacedæmonians, having conducted him to Sparta, adjudged Eurybiades the prize of valour, and Themistocles that of wisdom, honouring each with a crown of olive. They likewise presented the latter with the handsomest chariot in the city, and ordered three hundred of their youth to attend him to the borders. At the next Olympic games, too, we are told that as soon as Themistocles appeared in the ring, the champions were overlooked by the spectators, who kept their eyes upon him all the day, and pointed him out to strangers with the utmost admiration and applause. This incense was extremely grateful to him, and he acknowledged to his friends that he then reaped the fruit of his labours for Greece.

Indeed he was naturally very ambitious, if we may form a conclusion from his memorable acts and sayings.

For, when elected admiral by the Athenians, he would not despatch any business, whether public or private, singly, but put off all affairs to the day he was to embark; that, having a great deal to do, he might appear with the greatest dignity and importance.

One day, as he was looking upon the dead bodies cast up by

* The altar of Neptune.

the sea, and saw a number of chains of gold and bracelets upon them, he passed by them, and turning to his friend, said, *Take these things to yourself, for you are not Themistocles.*

To Antiphates, who had formerly treated him with disdain, but in his glory made his court to him, he said, *Young man, we are both come to our senses at the same time, though a little too late.*

He used to say, "The Athenians paid him no honour or sincere respect; but when a storm arose, or danger appeared, they sheltered themselves under him as under a plane tree, which, when the weather was fair again, they would rob of its leaves and branches."

When one of Seriphus told him, "He was not so much honoured for his own sake, but for his country's." "True," answered Themistocles, "for neither should I have been greatly distinguished if I had been of Seriphus, nor you, if you had been an Athenian."

Another officer, who thought he had done the state some service, setting himself up against Themistocles, and venturing to compare his own exploits with his, he answered him with this fable, "There once happened a dispute between the *feast day* and the *day after the feast*. Says the *day after the feast*, I am full of bustle and trouble, whereas, with you, folks enjoy, at their ease, everything ready provided. You say right, says the *feast day*, but if I had not been before you, you would not have been at all. *So, had it not been for me then, where would you have been now?*"

His son, being master of his mother, and by her means of him, he said, laughing, "This child is greater than any man in Greece; for the Athenians command the Greeks, I command the Athenians, his mother commands me, and he commands his mother."

As he loved to be particular in everything, when he happened to sell a farm, he ordered the crier to add, *that it had a good neighbour.*

Two citizens courting his daughter, he preferred the worthy man to the rich one, and assigned this reason, *He had rather she should have a man without money than money without a man.* Such was the pointed manner in which he often expressed himself. *

* Cicero has preserved another of his sayings, which deserves mentioning. When Simonides offered to teach Themistocles the art of memory, he answered, *Ah! rather teach me the art of forgetting, for I often remember what I would not and cannot forget what I would.*

After the great actions we have related, his next enterprise was to rebuild and fortify the city of Athens. Theopompus tells us he bribed the Lacedæmonian *Ephori*, that they might not oppose it; but most historians say he overreached them. He was sent, it seems, on pretence of an embassy to Sparta. The Spartans complained that the Athenians were fortifying their city, and the governor of Ægina, who was come for that purpose, supported the accusation. But Themistocles absolutely denied it, and challenged them to send proper persons to Athens to inspect the walls, at once gaining time for finishing them, and contriving to have hostages at Athens for his return. The event answered his expectation, for the Lacedæmonians, when assured how the fact stood, dissembled their resentment, and let him go with impunity.

After this he built and fortified the Piræus, having observed the conveniency of that harbour, by which means he gave the city every maritime accommodation. In this respect his politics were very different from those of the ancient kings of Athens. They, we are told, used their endeavours to draw the attention of their subjects from the business of navigation, that they might turn it entirely to the culture of the ground; and to this purpose they published the fable of the contention between Minerva and Neptune for the patronage of Attica, when the former, by producing an olive tree before the judges, gained her cause. Themistocles did not bring the Piræus into the city, as Aristophanes, the comic poet, would have it; but he joined the city by a line of communication to the Piræus, and the land to the sea. This measure strengthened the people against the nobility, and made them bolder and more untractable, as power came with wealth into the hands of masters of ships, mariners, and pilots. Hence it was that the oratory in *Pnyx*, which was built to front the sea, was afterwards turned by the thirty tyrants towards the land, for they believed a maritime power inclinable to a democracy, whereas persons employed in agriculture would be less uneasy under an oligarchy.

Themistocles had something still greater in view for strengthening the Athenians by sea. After the retreat of Xerxes, when the Grecian fleet was gone into the harbour of Pagasæ to winter, he acquainted the citizens in full assembly, "That he had hit upon a design which might greatly contribute to their advantage; but it was not fit to be communicated to their whole body." The Athenians ordered him to communicate it to Aristides only, and if he approved of it to put it in

execution. Themistocles then informed him "that he had thoughts of burning the confederate fleet at Pagasæ," upon which Aristides went and declared to the people "that the enterprise which Themistocles proposed was indeed the most advantageous in the world, but, at the same time, the most unjust." The Athenians therefore commanded him to lay aside all thoughts of it.

About this time the Lacedæmonians made a motion in the assembly of the *Amphictyons* to exclude from that council all those states that had not joined in the confederacy against the King of Persia. But Themistocles was apprehensive that if the Thessalians, the Argives, and Thebans were expelled from the council the Lacedæmonians would have a great majority of voices, and consequently procure what decrees they pleased. He spoke, therefore, in defence of those states, and brought the deputies off from that design by representing that thirty-one cities only had their share of the burden of that war, and that the greatest part of these were but of small consideration; that, consequently, it would be both unreasonable and dangerous to exclude the rest of Greece from the league, and leave the council to be dictated to by two or three great cities. By this he became very obnoxious to the Lacedæmonians, who, for this reason, set up Cimon against him as a rival in all affairs of state, and used all their interest for his advancement.

He disobliged the allies, also, by sailing round the islands, and extorting money from them, as we may conclude from the answer which Herodotus tells us the Adrians gave him to a demand of that sort. He told them "He brought two gods along with him, *Persuasion* and *Force*." They replied, "They had also two great gods on their side, *Poverty* and *Despair*, who forbade them to satisfy him." Timocreon, the Rhodian poet, writes with great bitterness against Themistocles, and charges him with betraying him, though his friend and host, for money, while, for the like paltry consideration, he procured the return of other exiles. So in these verses:

Pausanias you may praise, and you Xantippus,
And you Leutychidas But sure the hero,
Who bears the Athenian palm, is Aristides.
What is the false, the vain Themistocles?
The very light is grudg'd him by Latona,
Who, for vile pelf, betray'd Timocreon,
His friend and host, nor gave him to behold
His dear Jalysus For three talents more
He sail'd and left him on a foreign coast
What fatal end awaits the man that kills,
That banishes, that sets the villain up,

To fill his glittering stores^p While ostentation,
 With vain airs, vain would boast the generous hand,
 And, at the Isthmus, spreads a public board
 For crowds that eat, and curse him at the banquet.

But Timocreon gave a still looser rein to his abuse of Themistocles, after the condemnation and banishment of that great man, in a poem which begins thus :

Muse crown'd with glory, bear this faithful strain,
 Far as the Grecian name extends.

Timocreon is said to have been banished by Themistocles for favouring the Persians. When, therefore, Themistocles was accused of the same traitorous inclinations he wrote against him as follows : Timocreon's honour to the Medes is sold,
 But yet not his alone Another fox
 Finds the same fields to prey in.

As the Athenians, through envy, readily gave ear to calumnies against him, he was often forced to recount his own services, which rendered him still more insupportable, and when they expressed their displeasure he said, *Are you weary of receiving benefits often from the same hand?*

Another offence he gave the people was this: building a temple to Diana under the name of *Aristobule*, or *Diana of the best counsel*, intimating that he had given the best counsel, not only to Athens, but to all Greece. He built this temple near his own house, in the quarter of Melita. There was, even in our times, a statue of Themistocles in this temple of *Diana Aristobule*, from which it appeared that his aspect was as heroic as his soul.

At last the Athenians, unable any longer to bear that high distinction in which he stood, banished him by the *Ostracism*, and this was nothing more than they had done to others whose power was become a burden to them, and who had risen above the equality which a commonwealth requires; for the *Ostracism*, or *ten years' banishment*, was not so much intended to punish this or that great man, as to pacify and mitigate the fury of Envy, who delights in the disgrace of superior characters, and loses a part of her rancour by their fall.

In the time of his exile, while he took up his abode at Argos, *

* The great Pausanias, who had beaten the Persians in the battle of Plataea, and who, on many occasions, had behaved with great generosity as well as moderation, at last degenerated, and fell into a scandalous treaty with the Persians, in hopes, through their interest, to make himself sovereign of Greece. The Ephori waited some time for clear proof of his treacherous designs, and when they had obtained it, determined to imprison him. But he fled into the temple of Minerva Chalchicos, and they besieged him there. They walled up all the gates, and his own mother laid the first stone. When they had almost starved him to death they laid hands on him, and by the time they had got him out of the temple he expired.

the affair of Pausanias gave great advantage to the enemies of Themistocles. The person that accused him of treason was Leobotes, the son of Alcmaeon, of Agraule, and the Spartans joined in the impeachment. Pausanias at first concealed his plot from Themistocles, though he was his friend; but when he saw him an exile, and full of indignation against the Athenians, he ventured to communicate his designs to him, showing him the King of Persia's letters, and exciting him to vengeance against the Greeks, as an unjust and ungrateful people. Themistocles rejected the solicitations of Pausanias, and refused to have the least share in his designs; but he gave no information of what had passed between them, nor let the secret transpire; whether he thought he would desist of himself, or that he would be discovered some other way, as he had embarked in an absurd and extravagant enterprise without any rational hopes of success.

However, when Pausanias was put to death, there were found letters and other writings relative to the business, which caused no small suspicion against Themistocles. The Lacedæmonians raised a clamour against him; and those of his fellow-citizens that envied him insisted on the charge. He could not defend himself in person, but he answered by letter the principal parts of the accusation. For, to obviate the calumnies of his enemies, he observed to the Athenians, "That he who was born to command, and incapable of servitude, could never sell himself, and Greece along with him, to enemies and barbarians." The people, however, listened to his accusers, and sent them with orders to bring him to his answer before the states of Greece. Of this he had timely notice, and passed over to the isle of Corcyra; the inhabitants of which had great obligations to him; for a difference between them and the people of Corinth had been referred to his arbitration, and he had decided it by awarding the Corinthians to pay down twenty talents, and the isle of Leucas to be in common between the two parties, as a colony from both. From thence he fled to Epirus; and, finding himself still pursued by the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, he tried a very hazardous and uncertain resource, in imploring the protection of Admetus, King of the Molossians. Admetus had made a request to the Athenians, which being rejected with scorn by Themistocles in the time of his prosperity and influence in the state, the king entertained a deep resentment against him, and made no secret of his intention to revenge himself, if ever

the Athenian should fall into his power. However, while he was thus flying from place to place, he was more afraid of the recent envy of his countrymen, than of the consequences of an old quarrel with the king; and therefore he went and put himself in his hands, appearing before him as a suppliant in a particular and extraordinary manner. He took the king's son, who was yet a child, in his arms, and kneeled down before the household gods. This manner of offering a petition, the Molossians look upon as the most effectual, and the only one that can hardly be rejected. Some say the queen, whose name was Phthia, suggested this method of supplication to Themistocles. Others, that Admetus himself taught him to act the part, that he might have a sacred obligation to allege against giving him up to those that might come to demand him.

At that time Epicrates, the Acarnanian, found means to convey the wife and children of Themistocles out of Athens, and sent them to him; for which Cimon afterwards condemned him and put him to death. This account is given by Stesimbrotus, yet I know not how, forgetting what he had asserted, or making Themistocles forget it, he tells us he sailed from thence to Sicily, and demanded King Hiero's daughter in marriage, promising to bring the Greeks under his subjection; and that, upon Hiero's refusal, he passed over into Asia. But this is not probable. For Theophrastus, in his treatise on Monarchy, relates that, when Hiero sent his race-horses to the Olympic games, and set up a superb pavilion there, Themistocles harangued the Greeks, to persuade them to pull it down, and not to suffer the tyrant's horses to run. Thucydides writes that he went by land to the *Ægean* sea, and embarked at Pydna; that none in the ship knew him, till he was driven by storm to Naxos, which was at that time besieged by the Athenians; that, through fear of being taken, he then informed the master of the ship, and pilot, who he was; and that partly by entreaties, partly by threatening he would declare to the Athenians, however falsely, that they knew him from the first, and were bribed to take him into their vessel, he obliged them to weigh anchor and sail for Asia.

The greatest part of his treasures was privately sent after him to Asia by his friends. What was discovered and seized for the public use, Theopompus says, amounted to a hundred talents; Theophrastus, fourscore, though he was not worth three talents before his employments in the government.

When he was landed at Cuma, he understood that a number

of people, particularly Ergoteles and Pythodorus, were watching to take him. He was, indeed, a rich booty to those that were determined to get money by any means whatever; for the King of Persia had offered by proclamation two hundred talents for apprehending him. He, therefore, retired to Ægæ, a little town of the Æolians, where he was known to nobody but Nicogenes, his host, who was a man of great wealth, and had some interest at the Persian court. In his house he was concealed a few days; and, one evening after supper, when the sacrifice was offered, Olbius, tutor to Nicogenes's children, cried out, as in a rapture of inspiration,

Counsel, O Night, and victory are thine.

After this, Themistocles went to bed, and dreamed he saw a dragon coiling round his body, and creeping up to his neck; which, as soon as it had touched his face, was turned into an eagle, and covering him with its wings, took him up and carried him to a distant place, where a golden sceptre appeared to him, upon which he rested securely, and was delivered from all his fear and trouble.

In consequence of this warning, he was sent away by Nicogenes, who contrived this method for it. The barbarians in general, especially the Persians, are jealous of the women even to madness; not only of their wives, but their slaves and concubines; for, beside the care they take that they shall be seen by none but their own family, they keep them like prisoners in their houses, and when they take a journey, they are put in a carriage, close covered on all sides. In such a carriage as this Themistocles was conveyed, the attendants being instructed to tell those they met, if they happened to be questioned, that they were carrying a Grecian lady from Ionia to a nobleman at court.

Thucydides and Charon of Lampsacus relate that Xerxes was then dead, and that it was to his son* Artaxerxes that Themistocles addressed himself. But Ephorus, Dinon, Clitarchus, Heraclides, and several others, write that Xerxes himself was then upon the throne. The opinion of Thucydides seems most agreeable to chronology, though that is not perfectly well settled. Themistocles, now ready for the dangerous experiment, applied first to Artabanus,† a military officer, and told

* Themistocles, therefore, arrived at the Persian court in the first year of the 79th Olympiad, 462 years before the birth of Christ, for that was the first year of Artaxerxes's reign.

† Son of that Artabanus, captain of the guards, who slew Xerxes, and persuaded Artaxerxes to cut off his elder brother Darius

him, "He was a Greek, who desired to have audience of the king about matters of great importance, which the king himself had much at heart." Artabanus answered, "The laws of men are different; some esteem one thing honourable, and some another; but it becomes all men to honour and observe the customs of their own country. With you, the thing most admired is said to be liberty and equality. We have many excellent laws; and we regard it as one of the most indispensable, to honour the king, and to adore him as the image of that deity who preserves and supports the universe. If, therefore, you are willing to conform to our customs, and to prostrate yourself before the king, you may be permitted to see him and speak to him. But if you cannot bring yourself to this, you must acquaint him with your business by a third person. It would be an infringement of the custom of his country, for the king to admit any one to audience that does not worship him." To this Themistocles replied, "My business, Artabanus, is to add to the king's honour and power; therefore I will comply with your customs, since the god which has exalted the Persians will have it so; and by my means the number of the king's worshippers shall be increased. So let this be no hindrance to my communicating to the king what I have to say." "But who," said Artabanus, "shall we say you are? for by your discourse you appear to be no ordinary person." Themistocles answered, "Nobody must know that before the king himself."

When he was introduced to the king, and, after his prostration, stood silent, the king commanded the interpreter to ask him who he was. The interpreter accordingly put the question, and he answered, "The man that is now come to address himself to you, O king, is Themistocles the Athenian, an exile persecuted by the Greeks. The Persians have suffered much by me, but it has been more than compensated by my preventing your being pursued; when, after I had delivered Greece, and saved my own country, I had it in my power to do you also a service. My sentiments are suitable to my present misfortunes, and I come prepared either to receive your favour, if you are reconciled to me, or, if you retain any resentment, to disarm it by my submission. Reject not the testimony my enemies have given to the services I have done the Persians, and make use of the opportunity my misfortunes afford you, rather to show your generosity than to satisfy your revenge. If you save me, you save your suppliant; if you destroy me,

you destroy the enemy of Greece." In hopes of influencing the king by an argument drawn from religion, Themistocles added to this speech an account of the vision he had in Nicogenes's house, and an oracle of Jupiter of Dödonä, which ordered him *to go to one who bore the same name with the god*; from which he concluded he was sent to him, since both were called, and really were, *great kings*.

The king gave him no answer though he admired his courage and magnanimity; but, with his eyes, he felicitated himself upon this, as the most fortunate and desirable. We are also told, that he prayed to *Armanus* that his enemies might never be so infatuated as to drive from Athens their ablest men; that he offered sacrifice to the gods, and immediately after made a great entertainment; nay, that he was so affected with joy, that when he retired to rest, in the midst of his sleep, he called out three times, *I have Themistocles the Athenian*.

As soon as it was day, he called together his friends, and ordered Themistocles to be brought before him. The exile expected no favour, when he found that the guards, at the first hearing of his name, treated him with rancour, and loaded him with reproaches. Nay, when the king had taken his seat, and a respectful silence ensued, Roxanes, one of his officers, as Themistocles passed him, whispered him with a sigh, *Ah! thou subtle serpent of Greece, the king's good genius has brought thee hither*. However, when he had prostrated himself twice in the presence, the king saluted him, and spoke to him graciously, telling him, "He owed him two hundred talents; for, as he had delivered himself up, it was but just that he should receive the reward offered to any one that should bring him." He promised him much more, assured him of his protection, and ordered him to declare freely whatever he had to propose concerning Greece. Themistocles replied, "That a man's discourse was like a piece of tapestry which, when spread open, displays its figures; but when it is folded up, they are hidden and lost; therefore he begged time." The king, delighted with the comparison, bade him take what time he pleased; and he desired a year: in which space he learned the Persian language, so as to be able to converse with the king without an interpreter.

Such as did not belong to the court, believed that he entertained their prince on the subject of the Grecian affairs; but as there were then many changes in the ministry, he incurred the envy of the nobility, who suspected that he had presumed to speak too freely of them to the king. The honours that were

paid him were far superior to those that other strangers had experienced; the king took him with him a hunting, conversed familiarly with him in his palace, and introduced him to the queen mother, who honoured him with her confidence. He likewise gave orders for his being instructed in the learning of the *Magi*.

Demaratus, the Lacedæmonian, who was then at court, being ordered to ask a favour, desired that he might be carried through Sardis in royal state, with a diadem upon his head, "But Mithropaustes, the king's cousin-german, took him by the hand, and said, *Demaratus, this diadem does not carry brains along with it to cover; nor would you be Jupiter, though you should take hold of his thunder.*" The king was highly displeased with Demaratus for making this request, and determined never to forgive him; yet, at the desire of Themistocles, he was persuaded to be reconciled to him. And in the following reigns, when the affairs of Persia and Greece were more closely connected, as oft as the kings requested a favour of any Grecian captain, they are said to have promised him, in express terms, *That he should be a greater man at their court than Themistocles had been.* Nay, we are told, that Themistocles himself, in the midst of his greatness, and the extraordinary respect that was paid him, seeing his table most elegantly spread, turned to his children, and said, *Children, we should have been undone, had it not been for our undoing.* Most authors agree, that he had three cities given him, for bread, wine, and meat, Magnesia, Lampsacus, and Myus.* Neanthes of Cyzicus, and Phanias, add two more, Percote and Palæsepsis, for his chamber and his wardrobe.

Some business relative to Greece having brought him to the sea-coast, a Persian, named Epixyes, governor of Upper Phrygia, who had a design upon his life, and had long prepared certain Pisidians to kill him, when he should lodge in a city called Leontocephalus, or *Lion's Head*, now determined to put it in execution. But, as he lay sleeping one day at noon,

* The country about Magnesia was so fertile, that it brought Themistocles a revenue of fifty talents; Lampsacus had in its neighbourhood the noblest vineyards of the east; and Myus or Myon abounded in provisions, particularly in fish. It was usual with the eastern monarchs, instead of pensions to their favourites, to assign them cities and provinces. Even such provinces as the kings retained the revenues of were under particular assignments, one province furnishing so much for wine, another for victuals, a third the privy purse, and a fourth for the wardrobe. One of the queens had all Egypt for her clothing, and Plato tells us (1 Alcibiad.) that many of the provinces were appropriated for the queen's wardrobe, one for her girdle, another for her head-dress, and so of the rest; and each province bore the name of that part of the dress it was to furnish.

the mother of the gods is said to have appeared to him in a dream, and thus to have addressed him: "Beware, Themistocles, of the Lion's Head, lest the Lion crush you. For this warning I require of you Mnesiptolema for my servant." Themistocles awoke in great disorder, and when he had devoutly returned thanks to the goddess, left the high road, and took another way, to avoid the place of danger. At night he took up his lodging beyond it; but as one of the horses that had carried his tent had fallen into a river, and his servants were busied in spreading the wet hangings to dry, the Pisidians, who were advancing with their swords drawn, saw these hangings indistinctly by moonlight, and taking them for the tent of Themistocles, expected to find him reposing himself within. They approached, therefore, and lifted up the hangings; but the servants that had the care of them fell upon them, and took them. The danger thus avoided, Themistocles, admiring the goodness of the goddess that appeared to him, built a temple in Magnesia, which he dedicated to Cybele *Dindymene*, and appointed his daughter Mnesiptolema priestess of it.

When he was come to Sardis, he diverted himself with looking upon the ornaments of the temples; and among the great number of offerings, he found in the temple of Cybele, a female figure of brass two cubits high, called *Hydrophorus* or the *water bearer*, which he himself, when surveyor of the aqueducts at Athens, had caused to be made and dedicated out of the fines of such as had stolen the water, or diverted the stream. Whether it was that he was moved at seeing this statue in a strange country, or that he was desirous to show the Athenians how much he was honoured, and what power he had all over the king's dominions, he addressed himself to the governor of Lydia, and begged leave to send back the statue to Athens. The barbarian immediately took fire, and said he would certainly acquaint the king what sort of a request he had made him. Themistocles, alarmed at this menace, applied to the governor's women, and, by money, prevailed upon them to pacify him. After this, he behaved with more prudence, sensible how much he had to fear from the envy of the Persians. Hence, he did not travel about Asia, as Theopompus says, but took up his abode at Magnesia, where, loaded with valuable presents, and equally honoured with the Persian nobles, he long lived in great security: for the king, who was engaged in the affairs of the upper provinces, gave but little attention to the concerns of Greece.

But when Egypt revolted, and was supported in that revolt by the Athenians, when the Grecian fleet sailed as far as Cyprus and Cilicia, and Cimon rode triumphant master of the seas, then the king of Persia applied himself to oppose the Greeks, and to prevent the growth of their power. He put his forces in motion, sent out his generals, and dispatched messengers to Themistocles at Magnesia, to command him to perform his promises, and exert himself against Greece. Did he not obey the summons then?—No—neither resentment against the Athenians, nor the honours and authority in which he now flourished, could prevail upon him to take the direction of the expedition. Possibly he might doubt the event of the war, as Greece had then several great generals. and Cimon in particular was distinguished with extraordinary success. Above all, regard for his own achievements, and the trophies he had gained, whose glory he was unwilling to tarnish, determined him (as the best method he could take) to put such an end to his life as became his dignity.* Having, therefore, sacrificed to the gods, assembled his friends, and taken his last leave, he drank bulls' blood, as is generally reported; or, as some relate it, he took a quick poison, and ended his days at Magnesia, having lived sixty-five years, most of which he had spent in civil or military employments. When the king was acquainted with the cause and manner of his death, he admired him more than ever, and continued his favour and bounty to his friends and relations.

The Magnesians erected a very handsome monument to him. No credit is to be given to Andocides, who writes to his friends, that the Athenians stole his ashes out of the tomb, and scattered them in the air. Yet Diodorus the geographer writes in his Treatise of Sepulchres, but rather by conjecture than certain knowledge, that, near the harbour of Piræus, from the promontory of Alcinus,† the land makes an elbow, and when you have doubled it inwards, by the still water there is a vast foundation, upon which stands the tomb of Themistocles, in the form of an altar. With him Plato, the comic writer, is supposed to agree in the following lines:—

Of as the merchant speeds the passing sail,
Thy tomb, Themistocles, he stops to hail
When hostile ships in martial combat meet,
Thy shade attending hovers o'er the fleet.

* Thucydides, who was contemporary with Themistocles, only says, *He died of a distemper; but some report that he poisoned himself, seeing it impossible to accomplish what he had promised the king.* THUCYD. de Bell. Pelopon. l. 1.

† Meursius rightly corrects it *Alcinus*.

CIMON.



CIMON was the son of Miltiades and Hegesipyla. That lady was a Thracian, and daughter to king Olorus, as it stands recorded in the poems of Archelaus and Melanthius, written in honour of Cimon. So that Thucydides the historian was his relation, for his father was called Olorus; a name that had been long in the family, and he had gold mines in Thrace. Thucydides is said, too, to have been killed in Scape Hyle, a place in that country. His remains, however, were brought into Attica, and his monument is shown among those of Cimon's family, near the tomb of Elpinice, sister of Cimon. But Thucydides was of the ward of Alimus, and Miltiades of that of Lacias. Miltiades was condemned to pay a fine of fifty talents, for which he was thrown into prison by the government, and there he died. He left his son Cimon very young, and his daughter Elpinice was not yet marriageable.

Cimon, at first, was a person of no reputation, but censured as a disorderly and riotous young man. He was even compared to his grandfather Cimon, who, for his stupidity, was called *Coalemos* (that is, *Idiot*.) Stesimbrotus, the Thasian, who was his contemporary, says, he had no knowledge of music, or any other accomplishment which was in vogue among the Greeks, and that he had not the least spark of the Attic wit or eloquence; but that there was a generosity and sincerity in his behaviour, which showed the composition of his soul to be rather of the Peloponnesian kind. Like the Hercules of Euripides, he was

Rough and unbred, but great on great occasions

And therefore we may well add that article to the account Stesimbrotus has given us of him.

In his youth, he was accused of much irregularity of life; but the rest of his conduct was great and admirable. In courage he was not inferior to Miltiades, nor in prudence to Themistocles, and he was confessedly an honest man than either of them. He could not be said to come short of them in abilities for war; and even while he was young and without

military experience, it is surprising how much he exceeded them in political virtue. When Themistocles, upon the invasion of the Medes, advised the people to quit their city and territory, and retire to the straits of Salamis, to try their fortunes in a naval combat, the generality were astonished at the rashness of the enterprise. But Cimon, with a gay air, led the way with his friends, through the Ceramicus to the citadel, carrying a bridle in his hand to dedicate to the goddess. This was to show that Athens had no need of cavalry, but of marine forces, on the present occasion. After he had consecrated the bridle, and taken down a shield from the wall, he paid his devotions to the goddess, and then went down to the sea; by which means he inspired numbers with courage to embark. Besides, as the poet Ion informs us, he was not unhandsome in his person, but tall and majestic, and had an abundance of hair which curled upon his shoulders. He distinguished himself in so extraordinary a manner in the battle, that he gained not only the praise, but the hearts of his countrymen; insomuch that many joined his train, and exhorted him to think of designs and actions worthy of those at Marathon.

When he applied for a share in the administration, the people received him with pleasure. By this time they were weary of Themistocles, and as they knew Cimon's engaging and humane behaviour to their whole body, consequent upon his natural mildness and candour, they promoted him to the highest honours and offices in the state. Aristides, the son of Lysimachus, contributed not a little to his advancement. He saw the goodness of his disposition, and set him up as a rival against the keenness and daring spirit of Themistocles.

When the Medes were driven out of Greece, Cimon was elected admiral. The Athenians had not now the chief command at sea, but acted under the orders of Pausanias the Lacedæmonian. The first thing Cimon did, was to equip his countrymen in a more commodious manner, and to make them much better seamen than the rest. And as Pausanias began to treat with the barbarians, and write letters to the king, about betraying the fleet to them, in consequence of which he treated the allies in a rough and haughty style, and foolishly gave in to many unnecessary and oppressive acts of authority; Cimon, on the other hand, listened to the complaints of the injured with so much gentleness and humanity, that he insensibly gained the command of Greece, not by arms, but by his kind and obliging

manners. For the greatest part of the allies, no longer able to bear the severity and pride of Pausanias, put themselves under the direction of Cimon and Aristides. At the same time they wrote to the *ephori*, to desire them to recall Pausanias, by whom Sparta was so dishonoured, and all Greece so much discomposed.

It is related, that when Pausanias was at Byzantium, he cast his eyes upon a maiden named Cleonice, of a noble family there, and insisted on having her for an attendant. The parents, intimidated by his power, were under the hard necessity of giving up their daughter. The young woman begged that the light might be taken out of his apartment, that she might go to his room in secrecy and silence. When she entered he was asleep, and she unfortunately stumbled upon the candlestick, and threw it down. The noise waked him suddenly, and he, in his confusion, thinking it was an enemy coming to assassinate him, unsheathed a dagger that lay by him, and plunged it into the virgin's heart. After this he could never rest. Her image appeared to him every night, and with a menacing tone repeated this heroic verse—

Go to the fate which pride and lust prepare !

The allies, highly incensed at this infamous action, joined Cimon to besiege him in Byzantium. But he found means to escape thence; and as he was still haunted by the spectre, he is said to have applied to a temple at Heraclea, where the *manes* of the dead were consulted. There he invoked the spirit of Cleonice, and entreated her pardon. She appeared, and told him, "He would soon be delivered from all his troubles, after he returned to Sparta," in which, it seems his death was enigmatically foretold.*

All the confederates had now put themselves under the conduct of Cimon, and he sailed with them to Thrace, upon intelligence that some of the most honourable of the Persians, and of the king's relations, had seized the city of Eion upon the river Strymon, and greatly harassed the Greeks in that neighbourhood. Cimon engaged and defeated the Persian forces, and then shut them up in the town. After this, he dislodged the Thracians above the Strymon, who had used to supply the town with provisions, and kept so strict a guard over the country, that no convoys could escape him. By this means, the place was reduced to such extremity, that Butes the king's

* The Lacedæmonians having resolved to seize him, he fled for refuge to a temple of Minerva called *Chalimucos*. There they shut him up and starved him.

general, in absolute despair, set fire to it, and so perished there with his friends and all his substance.

In consequence of this, Cimon became master of the town, but there was no advantage to be reaped from it worth mentioning, because the barbarians had destroyed all by fire. The country about it, however, was very beautiful and fertile, and that he settled with the Athenians. For this reason the people of Athens permitted him to erect there three marble *Hermes*, which had the following inscriptions.

Where Strymon with his silver waves
The lofty towers of Eion laves,
The hapless Mede, with famine press'd,
The force of Grecian arms confess'd.

Let him, who born in distant days,
Beholds these monuments of praise—
These forms that valour's glory save—
And see how Athens crowns the brave,
For honour feel the patriot sigh,
And for his country learn to die.

Afar to Phrygia's fated lands
When Mnestheus leads his Attic bands,
Behold! he bears in Homer still
The palm of military skill,
In every age, on every coast,
'Tis thus the sons of Athens boast!

Though Cimon's name does not appear in any of these inscriptions, yet his contemporaries considered them as the highest pitch of honour. For neither Themistocles nor Miltiades were favoured with anything of that kind. Nay, when the latter asked only for a crown of olive, Sochares of the ward of Decelea stood up in the midst of the assembly, and spoke against it, in terms that were not candid indeed, but agreeable to the people. He said, "Miltiades, when you shall fight the barbarians alone, and conquer alone, then ask to have honours paid you alone." What was it then that induced them to give the preference so greatly to this action of Cimon? Was it not that, under the other generals, they fought for their lives and existence as a people, but under him they were able to distress their enemies, by carrying war into the countries where they had established themselves, and by colonising Eion and Amphipolis? They planted a colony too in the isle of Seyros, which was reduced by Cimon on the occasion I am going to mention. The Dolopes, who then held it, paid no attention to agriculture. They had so long been addicted to piracy, that at last they spared not even the merchants and strangers who came into their ports, but in that of Ctosium plundered some Thessalians

who came to traffic with them, and put them in prison. These prisoners, however, found means to escape, and went and lodged an impeachment against the place before the Amphictyones, who commanded the whole island to make restitution. Those who had no concern in the robbery were unwilling to pay anything, and, instead of that, called upon the persons who committed it, and had the goods in their hands, to make satisfaction. But these pirates, apprehensive of the consequence, sent to invite Cimon to come with his ships and take the town, which they promised to deliver up to him. In pursuance of this, Cimon took the island, expelled the Dolopes, and cleared the Ægean sea of corsairs.

This done, he recollected that their ancient hero Theseus, the son of Ægeus, had retired from Athens to Scyros, and was there treacherously killed by king Lycomedes, who entertained some suspicion of him. And as there was an oracle which had enjoined the Athenians to bring back his remains, and to honour him as a demi-god, Cimon set himself to search for his tomb. This was no easy undertaking, for the people of Scyros had all along refused to declare where he lay, or to suffer any search for his bones. At last, with much pains and inquiry, he discovered the repository, and put his remains, set off with all imaginable magnificence, on board his own galley, and carried them to the ancient seat of that hero, almost four hundred years after he had left it.*

Nothing could give the people more pleasure than this event. To commemorate it, they instituted games, in which the tragic poets were to try their skill; and the dispute was very remarkable. Sophocles, then a young man, brought his first piece upon the theatre; and Aphepsion, the archon, perceiving that the audience were not unprejudiced, did not appoint the judges by lot in the usual manner. The method he took was this: when Cimon and his officers had entered the theatre, and made the due libations to the god who presided over the games, the archon would not suffer them to retire, but obliged them to sit down and select ten judges upon oath, one out of each tribe. The dignity of the judges caused an extraordinary emulation among the actors. Sophocles gained the prize; at which Æschylus was so much grieved and disconcerted, that he could not bear to stay much longer in Athens, but in anger retired to Sicily, where he died, and was buried near Gela.

* Plutarch could not make a mistake of four hundred years. We are persuaded, therefore, that he wrote *eight hundred*.

Ion tells us, that when he was very young, and lately come from Chios to Athens, he supped at Laomedon's with Cimon. After supper, when the libations were over, Cimon was desired to sing, and he did it so agreeably, that the company preferred him, in point of politeness, to Themistocles. For he, on a like occasion, said, "He had not learned to sing or play upon the harp; but he knew how to raise a small city to wealth and greatness." The conversation afterwards turned upon the actions of Cimon, and each of the guests dwelt upon such as appeared to him the most considerable; he, for his part, mentioned only this, which he looked upon as the most artful expedient he had made use of. A great number of barbarians were made prisoners in Sestos and at Byzantium; and the allies desired Cimon to make a division of the booty. Cimon placed the prisoners, quite naked, on one side, and all their ornaments on the other. The allies complained the shares were not equal; whereupon he bade them take which part they pleased, assuring them that the Athenians would be satisfied with what they left. Herophytus the Samian advised them to make choice of the Persian spoils, and of course the Persian captives fell to the share of the Athenians. For the present, Cimon was ridiculed in private for the division he had made; because the allies had chains of gold, rich collars and bracelets, and robes of scarlet and purple to show, while the Athenians had nothing but a parcel of slaves, and those mostly very unfit for labour. But a little after, the friends and relations of the prisoners came down from Phrygia and Lydia, and gave large sums for their ransom. So that Cimon with the money purchased four months' provisions for his ships, and sent a quantity of gold besides to the Athenian treasury.

Cimon by this time had acquired a great fortune; and what he had gained gloriously in the war from the enemy, he laid out with as much reputation upon his fellow-citizens. He ordered the fences of his fields and gardens to be thrown down, that strangers, as well as his own countrymen, might freely partake of his fruit. He had a supper provided at his house every day, in which the dishes were plain, but sufficient for a multitude of guests. Every poor citizen repaired to it at pleasure, and had his diet without care or trouble; by which means he was enabled to give proper attention to public affairs. Aristotle, indeed, says, this supper was not provided for all the citizens in general, but only for those of his own tribe, which was that of Lacia.

When he walked out, he used to have a retinue of young men

well clothed, and if he happened to meet an aged citizen in a mean dress, he ordered some one of them to change clothes with him. This was great and noble. But beside this, the same attendants carried with them a quantity of money, and when they met in the market-place with any necessitous person of tolerable appearance, they took care to slip some pieces into his hand as privately as possible. Cratinus, the comic writer, seems to have referred to these circumstances in one of his pieces entitled *Archilochi*:

Even I Metrobius, though a scrivener, hoped
To pass a cheerful and a sleek old age,
And live to my last hour at Cimon's table,
Cimon! the best and noblest of the Greeks!
Whose wide-spread bounty vied with that of Heaven!
But, ah! he's gone before me!

Gorgias the Leontine gave him this character, "He got riches to use them, and used them so as to be honoured on their account." And Critias, one of the thirty tyrants, in his *Elegies* thus expresses the utmost extent of his wishes:

The wealth of Scopia's heirs, the soul of Cimon,
And the famed trophies of Agesilaus.

Lichas the Lacedæmonian, we know, gained a great name among the Greeks, by nothing but entertaining strangers who came to see the public exercises of the Spartan youth. But the magnificence of Cimon exceeded even the ancient hospitality and bounty of the Athenians. They indeed taught the Greeks to sow bread-corn, to avail themselves of the use of wells, and of the benefit of fire: in these things they justly glory. But Cimon's house was a kind of common hall for all the people; the first fruits of his lands were theirs; whatever the seasons produced of excellent and agreeable, they freely gathered; nor were strangers in the least debarred from them; so that he in some measure revived the community of goods, which prevailed in the reign of Saturn, and which the poets tell so much of. Those who malevolently ascribed this liberality of his to a desire of flattering or courting the people, were refuted by the rest of his conduct, in which he favoured the nobility, and inclined to the constitution and custom of Lacedæmon. When Themistocles wanted to raise the power and privileges of the commons too high, he joined Aristides to oppose him. In like manner he opposed Ephialtes, who, to ingratiate himself with the people, attempted to abolish the court of Areopagus. He saw all persons concerned in the administration, except Aristides and Ephialtes, pillaging the

public, yet he kept his own hands clean, and in all his speeches and actions continued to the last perfectly disinterested. One instance of this they give us in his behaviour to Rhcesaces, a barbarian who had revolted from the king of Persia, and was come to Athens with great treasures. This man, finding himself harassed by informers there, applied to Cimon for his protection; and, to gain his favour, placed two cups, the one full of gold, and the other of silver darics, in his antechamber. Cimon, casting his eye upon them, smiled, and asked him, "Whether he should choose to have him his mercenary or his friend?" "My friend, undoubtedly," said the barbarian. "Go then," said Cimon, "and take these things back with you; for if I be your friend, your money will be mine whenever I have occasion of it."

About this time, the allies, though they paid their contributions, began to scruple the furnishing the ships and men. They wanted to bid adieu to the troubles of war, and to till the ground in quiet and tranquillity, particularly as the barbarians kept at home, and gave them no disturbance. The other Athenian generals took every method to compel them to make good their quota, and by prosecutions and fines rendered the Athenian government oppressive and invidious. But Cimon took a different course when he had the command. He used no compulsion to any Grecian; he took money and ships unmanned of such as did not choose to serve in person; and thus suffered them to be led by the charms of ease to domestic employment, to husbandry and manufactures: so that, of a warlike people, they became, through an inglorious attachment to luxury and pleasure, quite unfit for anything in the military department. On the other hand, he made all the Athenians in their turns serve on board his ships, and kept them in continual exercise. By these means he extended the Athenian dominion over the allies, who were all the while paying him for it. The Athenians were always upon one expedition or other; had their weapons for ever in their hands, and were trained up to every fatigue of service; hence it was that the allies learned to fear and flatter them, and instead of being their fellow-soldiers as formerly, insensibly became their tributaries and subjects.

Add to this, that no man humbled the pride and arrogance of the great king more than Cimon. Not satisfied with driving him out of Greece, he pursued his footsteps, and without suffering him to take breath, ravaged and laid waste some parts of his dominions, and drew over others to the Grecian league;

insomuch that in all Asia, from Ionia to Pamphylia, there was not a Persian standard to be seen. As soon as he was informed that the king's fleets and armies lay upon the Pamphylian coast, he wanted to intimidate them in such a manner that they should never more venture beyond the Ohelidonian isles. For this purpose he set sail from Cnidus and Triopium with a fleet of two hundred galleys, which Themistocles had, in their first construction, made light and fit to turn with the utmost agility. Cimon widened them, and joined a platform to the deck of each, that there might in time of action be room for a greater number of combatants. When he arrived at Phaselis, which was inhabited by Greeks, but would neither receive his fleet, nor revolt from the king, he ravaged their territories, and advanced to assault their walls. Hereupon the Chians who were among his forces, having of old had a friendship for the people of Phaselis, on one side endeavoured to pacify Cimon, and on the other addressed themselves to the townsmen, by letters fastened to arrows, which they shot over the walls. At length they reconciled the two parties; the conditions were, that the Phaselites should pay down ten talents, and should follow Cimon's standard against the barbarians.

Ephorus says, Tithraustes commanded the king's fleet, and Pherendates his land forces; but Callisthenes will have it, that Ariomandes the son of Gobyras was at the head of the Persians. He tells us farther, that he lay at anchor in the river Eury-medon, and did not yet choose to come to an engagement with the Greeks, because he expected a reinforcement of eighty Phœnician ships from Cyprus. On the other hand, Cimon wanted to prevent that junction, and therefore sailed with a resolution to compel the Persians to fight, if they declined it. To avoid it, they pushed up the river. But when Cimon came up, they attempted to make head against him with six hundred ships, according to Phanodemus, or, as Ephorus writes, with three hundred and fifty. They performed, however, nothing worthy of such a fleet, but presently made for land. The foremost got on shore, and escaped to the army which was drawn up hard by. The Greeks laid hold on the rest and handled them very roughly, as well as their ships. A certain proof that the Persian fleet were very numerous, is, that though many in all probability got away, and many others were destroyed, yet the Athenians took no less than two hundred vessels.

The barbarian land forces advanced close to the sea; but it

appeared to Cimon an arduous undertaking to make good his landing by dint of sword, and with his troops, who were fatigued with the late action, to engage those that were quite fresh and many times their number. Notwithstanding this, he saw the courage and spirits of his men elevated with their late victory, and that they were very desirous to be led against the enemy. He therefore disembarked his heavy-armed infantry, yet warm from the action. They rushed forward with loud shouts, and the Persians stood and received them with a good countenance. A sharp conflict ensued, in which the bravest and most distinguished among the Athenians were slain. At last with much difficulty the barbarians were put to the rout: many were killed, and many others were taken, together with their pavilions full of all manner of rich spoil.

Thus Cimon, like an excellent champion, won two prizes in one day, and by these two actions outdid the victory of Salamis at sea, and of Platæa on land. He added, however, a new trophy to his victories. Upon intelligence that the eighty Phœnician galleys, which were not in the battle, were arrived at Hydrus,* he steered that way as fast as possible. They had not received any certain account of the forces to whose assistance they were going; and as this suspense much intimidated them, they were easily defeated, with the loss of all their ships and most of their men.

These events so humbled the king of Persia, that he came into that famous peace, which limited him to the distance of a day's journey on horseback from the Grecian sea; and by which he engaged that none of his galleys or other ships of war should ever come within the Cyanean and Chelidonian isles. Calisthenes, indeed, denies that the king agreed to these conditions; but he allows that his subsequent behaviour was equivalent to such an agreement. For his fears, consequent upon the defeat, made him retire so far from Greece, that Pericles with fifty ships, and Ephialtes with no more than thirty, sailed beyond the Chelidonian rocks without meeting with any fleet of the barbarians. However, in the collection of the Athenian decrees made by Craterus, there is a copy of the articles of this peace, which are in substance the same as we have related them. We are told also, that the Athenians built an altar to Peace on this occasion, and that they paid particular honours to Callias who negotiated the treaty. So much was raised from the sale of the spoils, that besides what was

* Thought to mean Cyprus.

reserved for other occasions, the people had money enough to build the wall on the south side of the citadel. Nay, such was the treasure this expedition afforded, that by it were laid the foundations of the long walls called Legs; they were not finished indeed till some time after. And as the place where they were to be erected was marshy and full of water, Cimon at his own expense had the bottom secured by ramming down large stones and binding them with gravel. He, too, first adorned the city with those elegant and noble places for exercise and disputation, which a little after came to be so much admired. He planted the *forum* with plane trees: and whereas the academy before was a dry and unsightly plat, he brought water to it, and sheltered it with groves, so that it abounded with clean alleys and shady walks.

By this time the Persians refused to evacuate the Chersonesus; and, instead of that, called down the Thracians to their assistance. Cimon set out against them from Athens with a very few galleys, and as they looked upon him with contempt on that account, he attacked them, and with four ships only took thirteen of theirs. Thus he expelled the Persians, and beat the Thracians too; by which success he reduced the whole Chersonesus to the obedience of Athens. After this, he defeated at sea the Thesians, who had revolted from the Athenians, took three-and-thirty of their ships, and stormed their town. The gold mines which were in the neighbouring continent he secured to his countrymen, together with the whole Thesian territories.

From thence there was an easy opening to invade Macedonia, and possibly to conquer great part of it; and as he neglected the opportunity, it was thought to be owing to the presents which king Alexander made him. His enemies, therefore, impeached him for it, and brought him to his trial. In his defence he thus addressed his judges: "I have no connection with rich Ionians or Thessalians, whom other generals have applied to, in hopes of receiving compliments and treasures from them. My attachment is to the Macedonians,* whose frugality and sobriety I honour and imitate; things preferable with me to all the wealth in the world. I love indeed to enrich my country at the expense of its enemies." Stesimbrotus, who mentions this trial, says Elpinice waited on Pericles at his own house, to entreat that he would behave with some lenity to her

* The manuscripts in general have Lacedæmonians, and that is probably the true reading.

brother: for Pericles was the most vehement accuser he had. At present, he only said, "You are old, Elpinice, much too old to transact such business as this." However, when the cause came on, he was favourable enough to Cimon, and rose up only once to speak during the whole impeachment, and then he did it in a slight manner. Cimon therefore was honourably acquitted.

As to the rest of his administration, he opposed and restrained the people who were invading the province of the nobility, and wanted to appropriate the direction of everything to themselves. But when he was gone out upon a new expedition, they broke out again, and, overturning the constitution and most sacred customs of their country, at the instigation of Ephialtes, they took from the council of Areopagus those causes that used to come before it, and left it the cognisance of but very few. Thus, by bringing all matters before themselves, they made the government a perfect democracy. And this they did with the concurrence of Pericles, who by this time was grown very powerful, and had espoused their party. It was with great indignation that Cimon found, at his return, the dignity of that high court insulted; and he set himself to restore its jurisdiction, and to revive such an aristocracy as had obtained under Clisthenes. Upon this, his adversaries raised a great clamour, and exasperated the people against him, not forgetting his attachment to the Lacedæmonians.

From his first setting out in life, he had an attachment to the Lacedæmonians. According to Stesimbrotus, he called one of the twins he had Lacedæmonius, and the other Eleus.

The Spartans contributed not a little to the promotion of Cimon. Being declared enemies to Themistocles, they much rather chose to adhere to Cimon, though but a young man at the head of affairs in Athens. The Athenians, too, at first saw this with pleasure, because they reaped great advantages from the regard which they had for Cimon. When they began to take the lead among the allies, and were gaining the chief direction of all the business of the league, it was no uneasiness to them to see the honour and esteem he was held in. Indeed, Cimon was the man they pitched upon for transacting that business, on account of his humane behaviour to the allies and his interest with the Lacedæmonians. But when they were become great and powerful, it gave them pain to see Cimon still adoring the Spartans. For he was always magnifying that people at their expense; and particularly, as Stesimbrotus tells

us, when he had any fault to find with them, he used to say, "The Lacedæmonians would not have done so." On this account his countrymen began to envyⁿ and to hate him.

They had, however, a still heavier complaint against him, which took its rise as follows. In the fourth year of the reign of Archidamus, the son of Zeuxidamus, there happened the greatest earthquake at Sparta that ever was heard of. The ground in many parts of Laconia was cleft asunder; Mount Taygetus felt the shock, and its ridges were torn off; the whole city was dismantled, except five houses. The young men and boys were exercising in the portico, and it is said that a little before the earthquake a hare crossed the place, upon which the young men, naked and anointed as they were, ran out in sport after it. The building fell upon the boys that remained, and destroyed them altogether.

Archidamus, amidst the present danger, perceived another that was likely to ensue, and, as he saw the people busy in endeavouring to save their most valuable moveables, he ordered the trumpets to give the alarm, as if some enemy were ready to fall upon them, that they might repair to him immediately with their weapons in their hands. This was the only thing which at that crisis saved Sparta. For the Helots flocked together on all sides from the fields to despatch such as had escaped the earthquake, but finding them armed and in good order they returned to their villages and declared open war. At the same time they persuaded some of their neighbours, among whom were the Messenians, to join them against Sparta.

In this great distress the Lacedæmonians sent Periclidus to Athens to beg for succours. Aristophanes,* in his comic way, says, "There was an extraordinary contrast between his pale face and his red robe as he sat a suppliant at the altars and asked us for troops." Ephialtes strongly opposed and protested against giving any assistance to re-establish a city which was rival to their own, insisting that they ought rather to suffer the pride of Sparta to be trodden under foot. Cimon, however, as Critias tells us, preferred the relief of Sparta to the enlargement of the Athenian power, and persuaded the people to march with a great army to its aid. Ion mentions the words which had the most effect upon them. He desired them, it seems, "Not to suffer Greece to be maimed, nor to deprive their own city of its companion."

* *Lysistrata*, l. 1140.

When he returned from assisting the Lacedæmonians, he marched with his army through Corinth. Lachartus complained in high terms of his bringing in his troops without permission of the citizens: "For," said she, "when we knock at another man's door, we do not enter without leave from the master." "But you, Lachartus," answered Cimon, "did not knock at the gates of Cleone and Megara, but broke them in pieces, and forced your way in upon this principle, that nothing should be shut against the strong." With this boldness and propriety too did he speak to the Corinthian, and then pursued his march.

After this, the Spartans called in the Athenians a second time against the Messenians and Helots in Ithome. But when they were arrived, they were more afraid of their spirit of enterprise than of the enemy, and therefore, of all their allies, sent them only back again, as persons suspected of some dishonourable design. They returned full of resentment, of course,* and now openly declared themselves against the partisans of the Lacedæmonians, and particularly against Cimon. In consequence of this, upon a slight pretence, they banished him for ten years, which is the term the ostracism extends to.

In the meantime, the Lacedæmonians, in their return from an expedition in which they had delivered Delphi from the Phocians, encamped at Tanagra. The Athenians came to give them battle. On this occasion Cimon appeared in arms among those of his own tribe, which was that of Oeneis, to fight for his country against the Lacedæmonians. When the council of five hundred heard of it, they were afraid that his enemies would raise a clamour against him, as if he was only come to throw things into confusion, and to bring the Lacedæmonians into Athens, and therefore forbade the generals to receive him. Cimon, upon this, retired, after he had desired Euthippus the Anaphlystian, and the rest of his friends, who were most censured as partisans of Sparta, to exert themselves gloriously against the enemy, and by their behaviour to wipe off the aspersion.

These brave men, in number about a hundred, took Cimon's armour (as a sacred pledge) into the midst of their little band, formed themselves into a close body, and fought till they all fell with the greatest ardour imaginable. The Athenians

* The Athenians, in resentment of this affront, broke alliance with Sparta, and joined in confederacy with the Argives. THUCYD. l. 1.

regretted them exceedingly, and repented of the unjust censures they had fixed upon them. Their resentment against Cimon, too, soon abated, partly from the remembrance of his past services, and partly from the difficulties they lay under at the present juncture. They were beaten in the great battle fought at Tanagra, and they expected another army would come against them from Peloponnesus the next spring. Hence it was that they recalled Cimon from banishment, and Pericles himself was the first to propose it. With so much candour were differences managed then, so moderate the resentments of men, and so easily laid down, where the public good required it! Ambition itself, the strongest of all passions, yielded to the interests and necessities of their country!

Cimon, soon after his return, put an end to the war, and reconciled the two cities. After the peace was made, he saw the Athenians would not sit down quietly, but still wanted to be in motion, and to aggrandize themselves by new expeditions. To prevent their exciting further troubles in Greece, and giving a handle for intestine wars, and heavy complaints of the allies against Athens, on account of their formidable fleets traversing the seas about the islands and round Peloponnesus, he fitted out a fleet of two hundred sail, to carry war into Egypt and Cyprus. This he thought would answer two intentions; it would accustom the Athenians to conflicts with the barbarians, and it would improve their substance in an honourable manner, by bringing the rich spoils of their natural enemies into Greece.

When all was now ready, and the army on the point of embarking, Cimon had this dream. An angry bitch seemed to bay at him, and, something between barking and a human voice, to utter these words—*Come on, I and my whelps with pleasure shall receive thee.* Though the dream was hard to interpret, Astyphilus the Posidonian, a great diviner, and a friend of Cimon's, told him it signified his death.

The expedition, however, could not now be put off, and therefore he set sail. He sent sixty of his galleys against Egypt, and with the rest made for the Asiatic coast, where he defeated the king's fleet, consisting of Phœnician and Cilician ships, made himself master of the cities in that circuit, and watched his opportunity to penetrate into Egypt. Everthing was great in the designs he formed. He thought of nothing less than overturning the whole Persian empire; and the rather, because he was informed that Themistocles was in great reputation and

power with the barbarians, and had promised the king to take the conduct of the Grecian war whenever he entered upon it. But Themistocles, in despair of managing it to any advantage, and of getting the better of the good fortune and valour of Cimon, fell by his own hand.

When Cimon had formed these great projects, as a first step towards them he cast anchor before Cyprus. From thence he sent persons in whom he could confide with a private question to the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, for their errand was entirely unknown. Nor did the deity return them any answer; but immediately upon their arrival ordered their return, "because Cimon," said he, "is already with me." The messengers upon this took the road to the sea, and when they reached the Grecian camp, which was then on the coasts of Egypt, they found that Cimon was dead. They then inquired what day he died, and, comparing it with the time the oracle was delivered, they perceived that his departure was enigmatically pointed at in the expression, "That he was already with the gods."

According to most authors he died a natural death during the siege of Citium; but some say he died of a wound he received in an engagement with the barbarians.

The last advice he gave those about him was to sail away immediately, and to conceal his death. Accordingly, before the enemy or their allies knew the real state of the case, they returned in safety by the generalship of Cimon, exercised, as Phanodemus says, thirty days after his death.

After he was gone, there was not one Grecian general who did anything considerable against the barbarians. The leading orators were little better than incendiaries, who set the Greeks one against another, and involved them in intestine wars; nor was there any healing hand to interpose. Thus the king's affairs had time to recover themselves, and inexpressible ruin was brought upon the powers of Greece. Long after this, indeed, Agesilaus carried his arms into Asia, and renewed the war awhile against the king's lieutenants on the coast; but he was so soon recalled by the seditions and tumults which broke out afresh in Greece that he could do nothing extraordinary. The Persian tax-gatherers were then left amidst the cities in alliance and friendship with the Greeks; whereas, while Cimon had the command, not a single collector was seen, nor so much as a horseman appeared within four hundred furlongs from the sea-coast.

PERICLES.



WHEN Cæsar happened to see some strangers of Rome carrying young dogs and monkeys in their arms, and fondly caressing them, he asked, "Whether the women in their country never bore any children?" thus reproving with a proper severity those who lavish upon brutes that natural tenderness which is due only to mankind. In the same manner we must condemn those who employ that curiosity and love of knowledge which nature has implanted in the human soul, upon low and worthless subjects, while they neglect such as are excellent and useful. Our senses, indeed, by an effect almost mechanical, are passive to the impression of outward objects, whether agreeable or offensive: but the mind, possessed of a self-directing power, may turn its attention to whatever it thinks proper. It should, therefore, be employed in the most useful pursuits, not barely in contemplation, but in such contemplation as may nourish its faculties. For as that colour is best suited to the eye, which by its beauty and agreeableness at the same time both refreshes and strengthens the sight, so the application of the mind should be directed to those subjects, which through the channel of pleasure may lead us to our proper happiness. Such are the works of virtue. The very description of these inspires us with emulation, and a strong desire to imitate them; whereas in other things, admiration does not always lead us to imitate what we admire; but, on the contrary, while we are charmed with the work, we often despise the workman. Thus we are pleased with perfumes and purple, while dyers and perfumers appear to us in the light of mean mechanics.

Antisthenes,* therefore, when he was told that Ismenias played excellently upon the flute, answered properly enough, "Then he is good for nothing else; otherwise he would not have played so well." Such also was Philip's saying to his son, when at a certain entertainment he sang in a very agreeable and skilful manner, "Are not you ashamed to sing so

* Antisthenes was a disciple of Socrates, and founder of the sect of the Cynics.

well?" It is enough for a prince to bestow a vacant hour upon hearing others sing, and he does the muses sufficient honour, if he attends the performances of those who excel in their arts.

If a man applies himself to servile or mechanical employments, his industry in those things is a proof of his inattention to nobler studies. No young man of noble birth or liberal sentiments, from seeing the Jupiter at Pisa, would desire to be Phidias, or from the sight of the Juno at Argus, to be Polycletus; or Anacreon, or Philemon, or Archilocus, though delighted with their poems. For though a work may be agreeable, yet esteem of the author is not the necessary consequence. We may therefore conclude, that things of this kind which excite not a spirit of emulation, nor produce any strong impulse or desire to imitate them, are of little use to the beholders. But virtue has this peculiar property, that at the same time that we admire her conduct, we long to copy the example. The goods of fortune we wish to enjoy, virtue we desire to practice; the former we are glad to receive from others, the latter we are ambitious that others should receive from us. The beauty of goodness has an attractive power; it kindles in us at once an active principle; it forms our manners, and influences our desires, not only when represented in a living example, but even in an historical description.

Pericles was of the tribe of Acamantis, and of the ward of Cholargia. His family was one of the most considerable in Athens, both by the father and mother's side. His father Xanthippus, who defeated the king of Persia's generals at Mycale, married Agariste, the niece of Clisthenes, who expelled the family of Pisistratus, abolished the tyranny, enacted laws, and established a form of government tempered in such a manner as tended to unanimity among the people, and the safety of the state. She dreamed that she was delivered of a lion, and a few days after brought forth Pericles. His person in other respects was well turned, but his head was disproportionably long. For this reason almost all his statues have the head covered with a helmet, the statuaries choosing, I suppose, to hide that defect. But the Athenian poets called him Schinocephalus or *onionhead*, for the word *schinos* is sometimes used instead of *scilla*, a *sea-onion*. Cratinus, the comic writer, in his play called *Chirones*, has this passage:

FACTION received old TIME to her embrace.
Hence came a tyrant-spawn, on earth called Pericles,
In heaven the *head-compeller*.

And again in his *Nemesis* he thus addresses him :

Come, blessed Jove, the high and mighty HEAD,
The friend of hospitality

And Teleclides says,

Now, in a maze of thought he ruminates
On strange expedients, while his HEAD, depress'd
With its own weight, sinks on his knees, and now
From the vast caverns of his brain burst forth
Storms and fierce thunders.

And Eupolis, in his *Demi*, asking news of all the great orators, whom he represented as ascending from the shades below, when Pericles comes up last, cries out,

HEAD of the tribes that haunt those spacious realms,
Does he ascend ?

Most writers agree, that the master who taught him music was called Damon, the first syllable of whose name, they tell us, is to be pronounced short; but Aristotle informs us, that he learned that art of Pythoclides. As for Damon, he seems to have been a politician, who under the pretence of teaching music, concealed his great abilities from the vulgar; and he attended Pericles as his tutor and assistant in politics, in the same manner as a master of the gymnastic art attends a young man to fit him for the ring. However, Damon's giving lessons upon the harp was discovered to be a mere pretext, and, as a busy politician and friend to tyranny, he was banished by the ostracism. Nor was he spared by the comic poets. One of them, named Plato, introduces a person addressing him thus,

Inform me, Damon, first, does fame say true ?
And wast thou really *Pericles's* *Chiron* ?

Pericles also attended the lectures of Zeno of Elea,* who, in natural philosophy, was a follower of Parmenides, and who, by much practice in the art of disputing, had learned to confound and silence all his opponents; as Timon the Phalasian declares in these verses,

Have you not heard of Zeno's mighty powers,
Who could change sides, yet changing triumph'd still
In the tongue's wars ?

But the philosopher, with whom he was most intimately acquainted, who gave him that force and sublimity of sentiment superior to all the demagogues, who, in short, formed him to that admirable dignity of manners, was Anaxagoras the

* This Zeno was of Elea, a town of Italy, and a Phocian colony, and must be carefully distinguished from Zeno the founder of the sect of the Stoics.

Clazomenian. This was he whom the people of those times called *nous* or *intelligence*, either in admiration of his great understanding and knowledge of the works of nature, or because he was the first who clearly proved, that the universe owed its formation neither to chance nor necessity, but to a pure and unmixed MIND, who separated the homogeneous parts from the other with which they were confounded.

Charmed with the company of this philosopher, and instructed by him in the sublimest sciences, Pericles acquired not only an elevation of sentiment, and a loftiness and purity of style, far removed from the low expression of the vulgar, but likewise a gravity of countenance which relaxed not into laughter, a firm and even tone of voice, an easy deportment, and a decency of dress, which no vehemence of speaking ever put into disorder. These things, and others of the like nature, excited admiration in all that saw him.

Such was his conduct, when a vile and abandoned fellow loaded him a whole day with reproaches and abuse; he bore it with patience and silence, and continued in public for the despatch of some urgent affairs. In the evening he walked slowly home, this impudent wretch following, and insulting him all the way with the most scurrilous language. And as it was dark when he came to his own door, he ordered one of his servants to take a torch and light the man home. The poet Ion, however, says he was proud and supercilious in conversation, and that there was a great deal of vanity and contempt of others mixed with his dignity of manner: on the other hand, he highly extols the civility, complaisance, and politeness of Cimon. But to take no farther notice of Ion, who perhaps would not have any great excellence appear, without a mixture of something satirical, as it was in the ancient tragedy; Zeno desired those that called the gravity of Pericles pride and arrogance, to be proud the same way; telling them, the very acting of an excellent part might insensibly produce a love and real imitation of it.

These were not the only advantages which Pericles gained by conversing with Anaxagoras. From him he learned to overcome those terrors which the various phenomena of the heavens raise in those who know not their causes, and who entertain a tormenting fear of the gods by reason of that ignorance. Nor is there any cure for it but the study of nature, which, instead of the frightful extravagances of superstition, implants in us a sober pity, supported by a rational hope.

We are told, there was brought to Pericles, from one of his farms, a ram's head with only one horn; and Lampo the sooth-sayer, observing that the horn grew strong and firm out of the middle of the forehead, declared, that the two parties in the state, namely, those of Thucydides and Pericles, would unite, and invest the whole power in him with whom the prodigy was found: but Anaxagoras having dissected the head, showed that the brain did not fill the whole cavity, but had contracted itself into an oval form, and pointed directly to that part of the skull whence the horn took its rise. This procured Anaxagoras great honour with the spectators; and Lampo was no less honoured for his prediction, when, soon after, upon the fall of Thucydides, the administration was put entirely into the hands of Pericles.

Pericles, in his youth, stood in great fear of the people. For in his countenance he was like Pisistratus the tyrant; and he perceived the old men were much struck by a further resemblance in the sweetness of his voice, the volubility of his tongue, and the roundness of his periods. As he was, moreover, of a noble family and opulent fortune, and his friends were the most considerable men in the state, he dreaded the ban of ostracism, and therefore intermeddled not with state affairs, but behaved with great courage and intrepidity in the field. However, when Aristides was dead, Themistocles banished, and Cimon much employed in expeditions at a distance from Greece, Pericles engaged in the administration. He chose rather to solicit the favour of the multitude and the poor, than of the rich and the few, contrary to his natural disposition, which was far from inclining him to court popularity.

It seems he was apprehensive of falling under the suspicion of aiming at the supreme power, and was sensible, besides, that Cimon was attached to the nobility, and extremely beloved by persons of the highest eminence; and, therefore, in order to secure himself, and to find resources against the power of Cimon, he studied to ingratiate himself with the common people. At the same time, he entirely changed his manner of living. He appeared not in the streets, except when he went to the forum or the senate house. He declined the invitations of his friends, and all social entertainments and recreations; insomuch, that in the whole time of his administration, which was a considerable length, he never went to sup with any of his friends but once, which was at the marriage of his nephew Eurypolemus, and he stayed there only until the ceremony of libation was ended. He considered that the freedom of

entertainments takes away all distinction of office, and that dignity is but little consistent with familiarity. Real and solid virtue, indeed, the more it is seen, the more glorious it appears; and there is nothing in a good man's conduct, as a magistrate, so great in the eye of the public, as is the general course of his behaviour in private to his most intimate friends. Pericles, however, took care not to make his person cheap among the people, and appeared among them only at proper intervals. Nor did he speak on all points that were debated before them, but reserved himself, like the Salaminian galley,* (as Critolaus says) for greater occasions; despatching business of less consequence by other orators with whom he had an intimacy. One of these, we are told, was Ephialtes, who, according to Plato, overthrew the power of the council of Areopagus, by giving the citizens a large and intemperate draught of liberty. On which account the comic writers speak of the people of Athens as of a horse wild and unmanaged,

————— which listens to the reins no more,
But in his maddening course bears headlong down
The very friends that feed him

Pericles, desirous to make his language a proper vehicle for his sublime sentiments, and to speak in a manner that became the dignity of his life, availed himself greatly of what he had learned of Anaxagoras; adorning his eloquence with the rich colours of philosophy. For, adding (as the divine Plato expresses it) the loftiness of imagination, and all-commanding energy with which philosophy supplied him, to his native powers of genius, and making use of whatever he found to his purpose, in the study of nature, to dignify the art of speaking, he far excelled all other orators. Hence he is said to have gained the surname of *Olympus*; though some will have it to have been from the edifices with which he adorned the city; and others, from his high authority both in peace and war. There appears, indeed, no absurdity in supposing that all these things might contribute to that glorious distinction. Yet the strokes of satire, both serious and ludicrous, in the comedies of those times, indicate that this title was given him chiefly on account of his eloquence. For they tell us that in his

* The Salaminian galley was a consecrated vessel which the Athenians never made use of but on extraordinary occasions. They sent it, for instance, for a general whom they wanted to call to account, or with sacrifices to Apollo, or some other deity.

harangues he thundered and lightened, and that his tongue was armed with thunder. Thucydides, the son of Mylesus, is said to have given a pleasant account of the force of his eloquence. Thucydides was a great and respectable man, who for a long time opposed the measures of Pericles: And when Archidamus, one of the kings of Lacedæmon, asked him, "Which was the best wrestler, Pericles, or he?" he answered, "When I throw him, he says he was never down, and he persuades the very spectators to believe so."

Yet such was the solicitude of Pericles when he had to speak in public, that he always first addressed a prayer to the gods,* "That not a word might unawares escape him unsuitable to the occasion." He left nothing in writing but some public decrees; and only a few of his sayings are recorded. He used to say, for instance, that "The isle of Ægina should not be suffered to remain an eye-sore to the Piræus;" and that "He saw a war approaching from Peloponnesus." Stesimbrotus produces this passage from the oration which Pericles pronounced in memory of those Athenians who fell in the Samian war, "They are become immortal like the gods: for the gods themselves are not visible to us; but from the honours they receive, and the happiness they enjoy, we conclude they are immortal; and such should those brave men be who die for their country."

Thucydides represents the administration of Pericles as favouring aristocracy, and tells us that, though the government was called democratical, it was really in the hands of one who had engrossed the whole authority. Many other writers likewise inform us, that by him the people were first indulged with a division of lands, were treated at the public expense with theatrical diversions, and were paid for the most common services to the state. As this new indulgence from the government was an impolitic custom, which rendered the people expensive and luxurious, and destroyed that frugality and love of labour which supported them before, it is proper that we should trace the effect to its cause, by a retrospect into the circumstances of the republic.

At first, as we have observed, to raise himself to some sort of equality with Cimon, who was then at the height of glory, Pericles made his court to the people. And as Cimon was his superior in point of fortune, which he employed in relieving the

* Quintilian says, he prayed, that not a word might escape him disagreeable to the people,

poor Athenians, in providing victuals every day for the necessitous, and clothing the aged; and besides this, levelled his fences with the ground, that all might be at liberty to gather his fruit; Pericles had recourse to the expedient of dividing the public treasure; which scheme, as Aristotle informs us, was proposed to him by Demonides of Jos. Accordingly, by supplying the people with money for the public diversions, and for their attendance in courts of judicature, and by other pensions and gratuities, he so inveigled them as to avail himself of their interest against the council of the Areopagus, of which he had no right to be a member, having never had the fortune to be chosen *archon*, *thesmuthetes*, *king of the sacred rites*, or *polemarch*. For persons were of old appointed to these offices by lot; and such as had discharged them well, and such only, were admitted as judges in the Areopagus. Pericles, therefore, by his popularity raised a party against that council, and, by means of Ephialtes, took from them the cognisance of many causes that had been under their jurisdiction. He likewise caused Cimon to be banished by the *Ostracism*, as an enemy to the people, and a friend to the Lacedæmonians; a man who in birth and fortune had no superior, who had gained very glorious victories over the barbarians, and filled the city with money and other spoils, as we have related in his life. Such was the authority of Pericles with the common people.

The term of Cimon's banishment, as it was by *Ostracism*, was limited by law to ten years. Meantime, the Lacedæmonians with a great army entered the territory of Tanagra, and the Athenians immediately marching out against them, Cimon returned, and placed himself in the ranks with those of his tribe, intending by his deeds to wipe off the aspersion of favouring the Lacedæmonians, and to venture his life with his countrymen; but by a combination of the friends of Pericles he was repulsed as an exile. This seems to have been the cause that Pericles exerted himself in a particular manner in that battle, and exposed his person to the greatest dangers. All Cimon's friends, whom Pericles had accused as accomplices in his pretended crime, fell honourably that day together: and the Athenians, who were defeated upon their own borders, and expected a still sharper conflict in the summer, grievously repented of their treatment of Cimon, and longed for his return. Pericles, sensible of the people's inclinations, did not hesitate to gratify them, but himself proposed a decree for recalling Cimon, and at his return, a peace was agreed upon

through his mediation. For the Lacedæmonians had a particular regard for him, as well as aversion to Pericles and the other demagogues.

But some authors write, that Pericles did not procure an order for Cimon's return, till they had entered into a private compact, by means of Cimon's sister Elpinice, that Cimon should have the command abroad, and with two hundred galleys lay waste the king of Persia's dominions, and Pericles have the direction of affairs at home. A story goes, that Elpinice before this had softened the resentment of Pericles against Cimon, and procured her brother a milder sentence than that of death. Pericles was one of those appointed by the people to manage the impeachment; and when Elpinice addressed him as a suppliant, he smiled and said, "You are old, Elpinice; much too old to solicit in so weighty an affair." However, he rose up but once to speak, barely to acquit himself of his trust, and did not bear so hard upon Cimon as the rest of his accusers. Who then can give credit to Idomeneus, when he says that Pericles caused the orator Ephialtes, his friend and assistant in the administration, to be assassinated through jealousy and envy of his great character? I know not where he met with this calumny, which he vents with great bitterness against a man, not indeed in all respects irreproachable, but who certainly had such a greatness of mind, and high sense of honour, as was incompatible with an action so savage and inhuman. The truth of the matter, according to Aristotle, is, that Ephialtes being grown formidable to the nobles, on account of his inflexible severity in prosecuting all that invaded the rights of the people, his enemies caused him to be taken off in a private and treacherous manner, by Aristodicus of Tanagra.

About the same time died Cimon, in the expedition to Cyprus. And the nobility perceiving that Pericles was now arrived at a height of authority which set him far above the other citizens, were desirous of having some person to oppose him, who might be capable of giving a check to his power, and of preventing his making himself absolute. For this purpose they set up Thucydides, of the ward of Alopceæ, a man of great prudence, and brother-in-law to Cimon. He had not, indeed, Cimon's talents for war, but was superior to him in forensic and political abilities; and, by residing constantly in Athens, and opposing Pericles in the general assembly, he soon brought the government to an *equilibrium*. For he did not suffer

persons of superior rank to be dispersed and confounded with the rest of the people, because in that case their dignity was obscured and lost; but collected them into a separate body, by which means their authority was enhanced, and sufficient weight thrown into their scale. There was, indeed, from the beginning, a kind of doubtful separation, which, like the flaws in a piece of iron, indicated that the aristocratical party and that of the commonalty were not perfectly one, though they were not actually divided: but the ambition of Pericles and Thucydides, and the contest between them, had so extraordinary an effect upon the city, that it was quite broken in two, and one part was called the *people*, and the other the nobility. For this reason, Pericles, more than ever, gave the people the reins, and endeavoured to ingratiate himself with them, contriving always to have some show, or play, or feast, or procession in the city, and to amuse it with the politest pleasures.

As another means of employing their attention, he sent out sixty galleys every year, manned for eight months, with a considerable number of the citizens, who were both paid for their service, and improved themselves as mariners. He likewise sent a colony of a thousand men to the Chersonesus, five hundred to Naxos, two hundred and fifty to Andros, a thousand into the country of the Bisaltæ in Thrace, and others into Italy, who settled in Sybaris, and changed its name to Thurii. These things he did, to clear the city of a useless multitude, who were very troublesome when they had nothing to do; to make provision for the most necessitous; and to keep the allies of Athens in awe, by placing colonies like so many garrisons in their neighbourhood.

That which was the chief delight of the Athenians and the wonder of strangers, and which alone serves for a proof that the boasted power and opulence of ancient Greece is not an idle tale, was the magnificence of the temples and public edifices. Yet no part of the conduct of Pericles moved the spleen of his enemies more than this. In their accusations of him to the people, they insisted, "That he had brought the greatest disgrace upon the Athenians by removing the public treasures of Greece from Delos and taking them into his own custody: That he had not left himself even the specious apology of having caused the money to be brought to Athens for its greater security, and to keep it from being seized by the barbarians: That Greece must needs consider it as the highest

insult, and an act of open tyranny, when she saw the money she had been obliged to contribute towards the war lavished by the Athenians in gilding their city, and ornamenting it with statues, and temples that cost a thousand talents, as a proud and vain woman decks herself out with jewels." Pericles answered this charge by observing, "That they were not obliged to give the allies any account of the sums they had received, since they had kept the barbarians at a distance, and effectually defended the allies, who had not furnished either horses, ships, or men, but only contributed money, which is no longer the property of the giver, but of the receiver, if he performs the conditions on which it is received: That as the state was provided with all the necessaries of war, its superfluous wealth should be laid out on such works as, when executed, would be eternal monuments of its glory, and which, during their execution, would diffuse a universal plenty; for as so many kinds of labour, and such a variety of instruments and materials were requisite to these undertakings, every art would be exerted, every hand employed, almost the whole city would be in pay, and be at the same time both adorned and supported by itself."

Indeed, such as were of a proper age and strength, were wanted for the wars, and well rewarded for their services; and as for the mechanics and meaner sort of people, they went not without their share of the public money, nor yet had they it to support them in idleness. By the constructing of great edifices, which required many arts, and a long time to finish them, they had equal pretensions to be considered out of the treasury (though they stared not out of the city) with the mariners and soldiers, guards and garrisons. For the different materials, such as stone, brass, ivory, gold, ebony, and cypress, furnished employment to carpenters, masons, brasiers, goldsmiths, painters, turners, and other artificers; the conveyance of them by sea employed merchants and sailors, and by land wheelwrights, wagoners, carriers, rope-makers, leather-cutters, paviors, and iron-founders; and every art had a number of the lower people ranged in proper subordination to execute it like soldiers under the command of a general. Thus by the exercise of these different trades, plenty was diffused among persons of every rank and condition. Thus works were raised of an astonishing magnitude, and inimitable beauty and perfection, every architect striving to surpass the magnificence of the design with the elegance of the execution; yet still the most

wonderful circumstance was the expedition with which they were completed. Many edifices, each of which seems to have required the labour of several successive ages, were finished during the administration of one prosperous man.

It is said, that when Agatharcus the painter valued himself upon the celerity and ease with which he dispatched his pieces; Zeuxis replied, "If I boast, it shall be of the slowness with which I finish mine." For ease and speed in the execution seldom gave a work any lasting importance or exquisite beauty; while, on the other hand, the time which is expended in labour is recovered and repaid in the duration of the performance. Hence we have the more reason to wonder, that the structures raised by Pericles should be built in so short a time, and yet built for ages: for as each of them, as soon as finished, had the venerable air of antiquity; so, now they are old, they have the freshness of a modern building. A bloom is diffused over them, which preserves their aspect untarnished by time, as if they were animated with a spirit of perpetual youth and unfading elegance.

Phidias was appointed by Pericles superintendent of all the public edifices, though the Athenians had then other eminent architects and excellent workmen. The *Parthenon*, or temple of *Pallas*, whose dimensions had been a hundred feet square, was rebuilt by Callicrates and Ictinus. Corœbus began the temple of Initiaton at Eleusis, but only lived to finish the lower rank of columns with their architraves. Metagenes, of the ward of Xypete, added the rest of the entablature, and the upper row of columns; and Xenocles of Cholargus built the dome on the top. The long wall, the building of which Socrates says he heard Pericles propose to the people, was undertaken by Callicrates. Cratinus ridicules this work as proceeding very slowly.

Stones upon stones the orator has pil'd
With swelling words, but words will build no walls.

The *Odeum*, or music theatre, which was likewise built by the direction of Pericles, had within it many rows of seats and of pillars; the roof was of a conic figure, after the model (we are told) of the king of Persia's pavilion. Cratinus, therefore, rallies him again in his play called *Thraëtæ*:

As Jove, an onion on his head he wears;
As Pericles, a whole orchestra bears,
Afraid of broils and banishment no more,
He tunes the shell he trembled at before!

Pericles at this time exerted all his interest to have a decree made, appointing a prize for the best performer in music during the *Panathenæa*; and, as he was himself appointed judge and distributor of the prizes, he gave the contending artists directions in what manner to proceed, whether their performance was vocal, or on the flute or lyre. From that time the prizes in music were always contended for in the *Odeum*.

The vestibule of the citadel was finished in five years by Mnesicles the architect. A wonderful event that happened while the work was in hand, showed that the goddess was not averse to the work, but rather took it into her protection, and encouraged them to complete it. One of the best and most active of the workmen, missing his step, fell from the top to the bottom, and was bruised in such a manner, that his life was despaired of by the physicians. Pericles was greatly concerned at this accident; but in the midst of his affliction, the goddess appeared to him in a dream, and informed him of a remedy, which he applied, and thereby soon recovered the patient. In memory of this cure, he placed in the citadel, near the altar, a brazen statue of the *Minerva of health*. The golden statue of the same goddess was the workmanship of Phidias, and his name is inscribed upon the pedestal (as we have already observed). Through the friendship of Pericles he had the direction of everything, and all the artists received his orders. For this the one was envied, and the other slandered.

The orators of Thucydides's party raised a clamour against Pericles, asserting that he wasted the public treasure and brought the revenue to nothing. Pericles, in his defence, asked the people in full assembly, "Whether they thought he had expended too much?" Upon their answering in the affirmative, "Then be it," said he, "charged to my account, not yours; only let the new edifices be inscribed with my name, not that of the people of Athens." Whether it was that they admired the greatness of his spirit, or were ambitious to share the glory of such magnificent works, they cried out "That he might spend as much as he pleased of the public treasure without sparing it in the least."

At last the contest came on between him and Thucydides, which of them should be banished by the *ostracism*. Pericles gained the victory, banished his adversary, and entirely defeated his party. The opposition now being at an end, and unanimity taking place amongst all ranks of people, Pericles became sole

master of Athens and its dependencies. The revenue, the army and navy, the islands and the sea, a most extensive territory peopled by barbarians as well as Greeks, fortified with the obedience of subject nations, the friendship of kings, and alliance of princes, were all at his command.

From this time he became a different man ; he was no longer so obsequious to the humour of the populace, which is as wild and as changeable as the winds. The multitude were not indulged or courted ; the government, in fact, was not popular ; its loose and luxuriant harmony was confined to stricter measures, and it assumed an aristocratical or rather monarchical form. He kept the public good in his eye, and pursued the straight path of honour. For the most part gently leading them by argument to a sense of what was right, and sometimes forcing them to comply with what was for their own advantage ; in this respect imitating a good physician, who, in the various symptoms of a long disease, sometimes administers medicines tolerably agreeable, and at other times sharp and strong ones, when such alone are capable of restoring the patient. He was the man that had the art of controlling those many disorderly passions which necessarily spring up amongst a people possessed of so extensive a dominion. The two engines he worked with were hope and fear ; with these repressing their violence when they were too impetuous, and supporting their spirits when inclined to languor ; he made it appear that *rhetoric* is (as Plato defined it) *the art of ruling the minds of men*, and that its principal province consists in moving the passions and affections of the soul, which, like so many strings in a musical instrument, require the touch of a masterly and delicate hand. Nor were the powers of eloquence alone sufficient, but (as Thucydides observes) the orator was a man of probity and unblemished reputation. Money could not bribe him ; he was so much above the desire of it that though he added greatly to the opulence of the state, which he found not inconsiderable, and though his power exceeded that of many kings and tyrants, some of whom have bequeathed to their posterity the sovereignty they had obtained, yet he added not one *drachma* to his paternal estate.

Thucydides, indeed, gives this candid account of the power and authority of Pericles, but the comic writers abuse him in a most malignant manner, giving his friends the name of the *new psistratide*, and calling upon him to swear that he would never attempt to make himself absolute, since his authority was

already much too great and overbearing in a free state. Teleclides says the Athenians had given up to him

The tributes of the states, the states themselves
To bind, to loose, to build, and to destroy,
In peace, in war to govern, nay, to rule
Their very fate, like some superior being.

And this not only for a time, or during the prime and flower of a short administration; but for forty years together he held the pre-eminence amongst such men as Ephialtes, Leocrates, Myronides, Cimon, Tolmides, and Thucydides, and continued it no less than fifteen years after the fall and banishment of the latter. The power of the magistrates, which to them was but annual, all centred in him, yet still he kept himself untainted by avarice. Not that he was inattentive to his finances; but, on the contrary, neither negligent of his paternal estate, nor yet willing to have much trouble with it; as he had not much time to spare he brought the management of it into such a method as was very easy, at the same time that it was exact. For he used to turn a whole year's produce into money altogether, and with this he bought from day to day all manner of necessaries at the market. This way of living was not agreeable to his sons when grown up, and the allowance he made the women did not appear to them a generous one; they complained of a pittance daily measured out with scrupulous economy, which admitted of none of those superfluities so common in great houses and wealthy families, and could not bear to think of the expenses being so nicely adjusted to the income.

The person who managed these concerns with so much exactness was a servant of his named Evangelius, either remarkably fitted for the purpose by nature or formed to it by Pericles. Anaxagoras, indeed, considered these lower attentions as inconsistent with his wisdom. Following the dictates of enthusiasm, and wrapt up in sublime inquiries, he quitted his house, and left his lands untilled and desolate. But, in my opinion, there is an essential difference between a speculative and a practical philosopher. The former advances his ideas into the regions of science without the assistance of anything corporeal or external; the latter endeavours to apply his great qualities to the use of mankind, and riches afford him not only necessary but excellent assistance. Thus it was with Pericles, who, by his wealth, was enabled to relieve numbers of the poor citizens. Nay, for want of such prudential regards this very Anaxagoras, we are told, lay neglected and unprovided for, insomuch that the poor old man

had covered up his head and was going to starve himself. But an account of it being brought to Pericles he was extremely moved at it, ran immediately to him, expostulated, entreated: bewailing not so much the fate of his friend as his own, if his administration should lose so valuable a counsellor. Anaxagoras, uncovering his face, replied, "Ah, Pericles! those that have need of a lamp take care to supply it with oil."

By this time the Lacedæmonians began to express some jealousy of the Athenian greatness, and Pericles, willing to advance it still higher, and to make the people more sensible of
• their importance and more inclinable to great attempts, procured an order that all the Greeks, wheresoever they resided, whether in Europe or in Asia, whether their cities were small or great, should send deputies to Athens to consult about rebuilding the Grecian temples which the barbarians had burned, and about providing those sacrifices which had been vowed during the Persian war for the preservation of Greece, and likewise to enter into such measures as might secure navigation and maintain the peace.

Accordingly twenty persons, each upwards of fifty years of age, were sent with this proposal to the different states of Greece. Five went to the Ionians and Dorians in Asia, and the islanders as far as Lesbos and Rhodes; five to the cities about the Hellespont and in Thrace, as far as Byzantium; five to the inhabitants of Bœotia, Phœcis, and Peloponnesus, and from thence, by Locri along the adjoining continent, to Acarnania and Ambracia. The rest were despatched through Eubœa to the Greeks that dwelt upon Mount Oetra and near the Maliac Bay, to the Phithiotæ, the Achæans, and Thessalians, inviting them to join in the council and new confederacy for the preservation of the peace of Greece. It took no effect, however, nor did the cities send their deputies, the reason of which is said to be the opposition of the Lacedæmonians, for the proposal was first rejected in Peloponnesus. But I was willing to give account of it as a specimen of the greatness of the orator's spirit, and of his disposition to form magnificent designs.

His chief merit in war was the safety of his measures. He never willingly engaged in any uncertain or very dangerous expedition, nor had any ambition to imitate those generals who are admired as great men, because their rash enterprises have been attended with success. He always told the Athenians, "That as far as their fate depended upon him they should be

immortal." Perceiving that Tolmides, the son of Tolmæus, in confidence of his former success and military reputation, was preparing to invade Bœotia at an unseasonable time, and that over and above the regular troops he had persuaded the bravest and most spirited of the Athenian youth, to the number of a thousand, to go volunteers in that expedition, he addressed him in public and tried to divert him from it, making use, among the rest, of those well known words, "If you regard not the opinion of Pericles, yet wait at least for the advice of time, who is the best of all counsellors." This saying, for the present, gained no great applause; but when, a few days after, news was brought that Tolmides was defeated and killed at Coronea,* together with many of the bravest citizens, it procured Pericles great respect and love from the people, who considered it as a proof, not only of his sagacity, but of his affection for his countrymen.

Of his military expeditions, that to the Chersonesus procured him most honour, because it proved very salutary to the Greeks who dwelt there. For he not only strengthened their cities with the addition of a thousand able-bodied Athenians, but raised fortifications across the Isthmus from sea to sea; thus guarding against the incursions of the Thracians who were spread about the Chersonesus, and putting an end to those long and grievous wars under which that district had smarted, by reason of the neighbourhood of the barbarians, as well as to the robberies with which it had been infested by persons who lived upon the borders, or were inhabitants of the country. But the expedition most celebrated among strangers, was that by sea around Peloponnesus. He set sail from Pegæ in the territories of Megara with a hundred ships of war, and not only ravaged the maritime cities, as Tolmides had done before him, but landed his forces and penetrated a good way up the country. The terror of his arms drove the inhabitants into their walled towns, all but the Sicyonians, who made head against him at Memea, and were defeated in a pitched battle; in memory of which victory he erected a trophy. From Achaia, a confederate state, he took a number of men into his galleys, and sailed to the opposite side of the continent; then passing by the mouth of the Achelous, he made a descent in Acarnania, shut up the Oeneadæ within their walls, and having laid waste the country, returned home. In

* This defeat happened in the second year of the eighty-third Olympiad, four hundred and forty-five years before the Christian era, and more than twenty years before the death of Pericles

the whole course of this affair, he appeared terrible to his enemies, and to his countrymen an active and prudent commander; for no miscarriage was committed, nor did even any unfortunate accident happen during the whole time.

Having sailed to Pontus with a large and well equipped fleet, he procured the Grecian cities there all the advantages they desired, and treated them with great regard. To the barbarous nations that surrounded them, and to their kings and princes, he made the power of Athens very respectable, by showing with what security her fleets could sail, and that she was in effect mistress of the seas. He left the people of Sinope thirteen ships under the command of Lamachus, and a body of men to act against Timesleus their tyrant. And when the tyrant and his party were driven out, he caused a decree to be made, that a colony of six hundred Athenian volunteers should be placed in Sinope, and put in possession of those houses and lands which had belonged to the tyrants.

He did not, however, give way to the wild desires of the citizens, nor would he indulge them, when, elated with their strength and good fortune, they talked of recovering Egypt, and of attempting the coast of Persia. Many were likewise at this time possessed with the unfortunate passion for Sicily, which the orators of Alcibiades's party afterwards inflamed still more. Nay, some even dreamed of Hetruria and Carthage, and not without some ground of hope, as they imagined, because of the great extent of their dominions, and the successful course of their affairs.

But Pericles restrained this impetuosity of the citizens, and curbed their extravagant desire of conquest; employing the greatest part of their forces in strengthening and securing their present acquisitions, and considering it as a matter of consequence to keep the Lacedæmonians within bounds; whom he therefore opposed, as on other occasions, so particularly in the sacred war. For when the Lacedæmonians, by dint of arms, had restored the temple to the citizens of Delphi, which had been seized by the Phocians, Pericles, immediately after the departure of the Lacedæmonians, marched thither, and put it into the hands of the Phocians again. And as the Lacedæmonians had engraved on the forehead of the brazen wolf the privilege which the people of Delphi had granted them of consulting the oracle first, Pericles caused the same privilege for the Athenians to be inscribed on the wolf's right side.

The event showed that he was right in confining the Athenian

forces to act within the bounds of Greece. For, in the first place, the Eubœans revolted, and he led an army against them. Soon after, news was brought that Megara had commenced hostilities, and that the Lacedæmonian forces, under the command of king Plistonax, were upon the borders of Attica. The enemy offered him battle; he did not choose, however, to risk an engagement with so numerous and resolute an army. But as Plistonax was very young, and chiefly directed by Cleandrides, a counsellor whom the *Ephori* had appointed him on account of his tender age, he attempted to bribe that counsellor, and succeeding in it to his wish, persuaded him to draw off the Peloponnesians from Attica. The soldiers dispersing and retiring to their respective homes, the Lacedæmonians were so highly incensed, that they laid a heavy fine upon the king, and as he was not able to pay it, he withdrew from Lacedæmon. As for Cleandrides, who fled from justice, they condemned him to death.

In the accounts for this campaign, Pericles put down ten talents laid out *for a necessary use*, and the people allowed it, without examining the matter closely, or prying into the secret. According to some writers, and among the rest Theophrastus the philosopher, Pericles sent ten talents every year to Sparta, with which he gained all the magistracy, and kept them from acts of hostility; not that he purchased peace with the money, but only gained time, that he might have leisure to make preparations to carry on the war afterwards with advantage.

Immediately after the retreat of the Lacedæmonians, he turned his arms against the revolters, and passing over into Eubœa with fifty ships and five thousand men, he reduced the cities. He expelled the *Hippobota*, persons distinguished by their opulence and authority among the Chalcidians; and having exterminated all the Hestîæans, he gave their city to a colony of Athenians. The cause of this severity was their having taken an Athenian ship, and murdered the whole crew.

Soon after this, the Athenians and Lacedæmonians having agreed upon a truce for thirty years, Pericles caused a decree to be made for an expedition against Samos. The pretence he made use of was, that the Samians, when commanded to put an end to the war with the Milesians, had refused it. But as he seems to have entered upon this war merely to gratify Aspasia, it may not be amiss to inquire by what art or power she captivated the greatest statesman, and brought even philosophers to speak of her so much to her advantage.

It is agreed that she was by birth a Milesian,* and the daughter of Axiochus. She is reported to have trod in the steps of Thargelia,† who was descended from the ancient Ionians.

Some, indeed, say, that Pericles made his court to Aspasia only on account of her wisdom and political abilities. Nay, even Socrates himself sometimes visited her along with his friends; and her acquaintance took their wives with them to hear her discourse. Æschines informs us that Lysicles, who was a grazier, and of a mean, ungenerous disposition, by his intercourse with Aspasia, after the death of Pericles, became the most considerable man in Athens. And though Plato's Menexenus in the beginning is rather humorous than serious, yet thus much of history we may gather from it, that many Athenians resorted to her on account of her skill in the art of speaking.

I should not, however, think that the attachment of Pericles was of so very delicate a kind. For, though his wife, who was his relation, and had been first married to Hipponicus, by whom she had Callius the rich, brought him two sons, Xanthippus and Paralus, yet they lived so ill together that they parted by consent. She was married to another, and he took Aspasia, for whom he had the tenderest regard; insomuch that he never went out upon business, or returned without saluting her. In the comedies she is called the *New Omphale*, *Deiænira*, and *Juno*.

I now return to the Samian war, which Pericles is much blamed for having promoted, in favour of the Milesians, at the instigation of Aspasia. The Milesians and Samians had been at war for the city of Priene, and the Samians had the advantage, when the Athenians interposed, and ordered them to lay down their arms, and refer the decision of the dispute to them; but the Samians refused to comply with this demand. Pericles, therefore, sailed with a fleet to Samos, and abolished the oligarchical form of government. He then took fifty of the principal men, and the same number of children, as hostages, and sent them to Lemnos. Each of these hostages, we are told, offered him a talent for his ransom; and those that were desirous to prevent the settling a democracy among them would have given him much more. Pisuthnes the Persian, who had the interest of the Samians at heart, likewise sent him ten thousand pieces of gold, to prevail upon him to grant them more

* Miletum, a city in Ionia, was famous for producing persons of extraordinary abilities.

† This Thargelia, by her beauty, obtained the sovereignty of Thessaly.

favourable terms. Pericles, however, would receive none of their presents, but treated the Samians in the manner he had resolved on; and having established a popular government in the island, he returned to Athens.

But they soon revolted again, having recovered their hostages by some private measure of Pissuthnes, and made new preparations for war. Pericles coming with a fleet to reduce them once more, found them not in a posture of negligence or despair, but determined to contend with him for the dominion of the sea. A sharp engagement ensued near the isle of Tragia, and Pericles gained a glorious victory, having with forty-four ships defeated seventy, twenty of which had soldiers on board.

Pursuing his victory, he possessed himself of the harbour of Samos, and laid siege to the city. They still retained courage enough to sally out and give him battle before the walls. Soon after a greater fleet came from Athens, and the Samians were entirely shut up: whereupon, Pericles took sixty galleys, and steered for the Mediterranean, with a design, as is generally supposed, to meet the Phœnician fleet that was coming to the relief of Samos, and to engage with it at a great distance from the island.

Stesimbrotus, indeed, says, he intended to sail for Cyprus, which is very improbable. But whatever his design was, he seems to have committed an error. For, as soon as he was gone, Melissus, the son of Ithagenes, a man distinguished as a philosopher, and at that time commander of the Samians, despising either the small number of ships that was left, or else the inexperience of their officers, persuaded his countrymen to attack the Athenians. Accordingly, a battle was fought, and the Samians obtained the victory; for they made many prisoners, destroyed the greatest part of the enemy's fleet, cleared the seas, and imported whatever warlike stores and provisions they wanted. Aristotle writes, that Pericles himself had been beaten by the same Melissus, in a former sea-fight.

The Samians returned upon the Athenian prisoners the insult they had received, marked their foreheads with the figure of an owl, as the Athenians had branded them with a *Samana*, which is a kind of ship built low in the forepart, and wide and hollow in the sides. This form makes it light and expeditious in sailing; and it was called *Samana*, from its being invented in Samos by Polycrates the tyrant. Aristophanes is supposed to have hinted at these marks, when he says,

The Samians are a lettered race.

As soon as Pericles was informed of the misfortune that had befallen his army, he immediately returned with succours, gave Melissus battle, routed the enemy, and blocked up the town by building a wall about it; choosing to owe the conquest of it rather to time and expense, than to purchase it with the blood of his fellow-citizens. But when he found the Athenians murmured at the time spent in the blockade, and that it was difficult to restrain them from the assault, he divided the army into eight parts, and ordered them to draw lots. That division which drew a white bean, were to enjoy themselves in ease and pleasure while the others fought. Hence it is said, that those who spent the day in feasting and merriment, called that a *white day* from the *white bean*.

Ephorus adds, that Pericles in this siege made use of battering engines, the invention of which he much admired, it being then a new one; and that he had *Artemon* the engineer along with him, who, on account of his lameness, was carried about in a litter, when his presence was required to direct the machines.

After nine months the Samians surrendered. Pericles razed their walls, seized their ships, and laid a heavy fine upon them; part of which they paid down directly, the rest they promised at a set time, and gave hostages for the payment. Duris the Samian makes a melancholy tale of it, accusing Pericles and the Athenians of great cruelty, of which no mention is made by Thucydides, Ephorus, or Aristotle. What he relates concerning the Samian officers and seamen seems quite fictitious: he tells us, that Pericles caused them to be brought into the market-place at Miletus, and to be bound to posts there for ten days together, at the end of which he ordered them, by that time in the most wretched condition, to be dispatched with clubs, and refused their bodies the honour of burial. Duris, indeed, in his Histories, often goes beyond the limits of truth, even when not misled by any interest or passion; and therefore is more likely to have exaggerated the sufferings of his country, to make the Athenians appear in an odious light.

Pericles, at his return to Athens, after the reduction of Samos, celebrated in a splendid manner the obsequies of his countrymen who fell in that war, and pronounced himself the funeral oration usual on such occasions. This gained him great applause; and, when he came down from the rostrum, the women paid their respects to him, and presented him with crowns and chaplets, like a champion just returned victorious from the lists. Only Elpinice addressed him in terms quite

different: "Are these actions, then, Pericles, worthy of crowns and garlands, which have deprived us of many brave citizens; not in a war with the Phœnicians and Medes, such as my brother Cimon waged, but in destroying a city united to us both in blood and friendship?" Pericles only smiled, and answered softly with this line of Archilochus,

Why lavish ornaments on a head that's grey?

Ion informs us, that he was highly elated with this conquest, and scrupled not to say, "That Agamemnon spent ten years in reducing one of the cities of the barbarians, whereas he had taken the richest and most powerful city among the Ionians in nine months." And indeed he had reason to be proud of this achievement; for the war was really a dangerous one, and the event uncertain, since, according to Thucydides, such was the power of the Samians, that the Athenians were in imminent danger of losing the dominion of the sea.

Some time after this, when the Peloponnesian war was ready to break out, Pericles persuaded the people to send succours to the inhabitants of Corecyra, who were at war with the Corinthians;* which would be a means to fix in their interest an island whose naval forces were considerable, and might be of great service in case of a rupture with the Peloponnesians, which they had all the reason in the world to expect would be soon. The succours were decreed accordingly, and Pericles sent Lacedæmonius the son of Cimon with ten ships only, as if he designed nothing more than to disgrace him. A mutual regard and friendship subsisted between Cimon's family and the Spartans; and he now furnished his son with but a few ships, and gave him the charge of this affair against his inclination, in order that, if nothing great or striking were effected, Lacedæmonius might be still the more suspected of favouring the Spartans. Nay, by all imaginable methods he endeavoured to hinder the advancement of that family, representing the sons of Cimon, as by their very names not genuine Athenians, but strangers and aliens, one of them being called Lacedæmonius, another Thessalus, and a third Eleus. They seem to have been all the sons of an Arcadian woman. Pericles, however, finding himself greatly blamed about these ten galleys, an aid by no means sufficient to answer the purpose of those that requested it, but likely enough to afford his enemies a pretence to accuse him, sent another

* This war was commenced about the little territory of Epidamnus, a city in Macedonia, founded by the Coreyrians.

squadron to Corcyra which did not arrive till the action was over.

The Corinthians, offended at this treatment, complained of it at Lacedæmon; and the Megarensians at the same time alleged, that the Athenians would not suffer them to come to any mart or port of theirs, but drove them out, thereby infringing the common privileges, and breaking the oath they had taken before the general assembly of Greece. The people of Ægina, too, privately acquainted the Lacedæmonians with many encroachments and injuries done them by the Athenians, whom they durst not accuse openly. And at this very juncture, Potidæa, a Corinthian colony, but subject to the Athenians, being besieged in consequence of its revolt, hastened on the war.

However, as ambassadors were sent to Athens, and as Archidamus, king of the Lacedæmonians, endeavoured to give a healing turn to most of the articles in question, and to pacify the allies, probably no other point would have involved the Athenians in war, if they could have been persuaded to rescind the decree against the Megarensians, and to be reconciled to them. Pericles, therefore, in exerting all his interest to oppose this measure, in retaining his enmity to the Megarensians, and working up the people to the same rancour, was the sole author of the war.

It is said, that when the ambassadors from Lacedæmon came upon this occasion to Athens, Pericles pretended there was a law which forbade the taking down any tablet on which a decree of the people was written. "Then," said Polyarces, one of the ambassadors, "do not take it down, but turn the other side outward; there is no law against that." Notwithstanding the pleasantry of this answer, Pericles relented not in the least. He seems, indeed, to have had some private pique against the Megarensians, though the pretext he availed himself of in public was, that they had applied to profane uses certain parcels of sacred ground; and thereupon he procured a decree for a herald to be sent to Megara and Lacedæmon to lay this charge against the Megarensians. This decree was drawn up in a candid and conciliating manner. But Anthemocritus, the herald sent with that commission, losing his life by the way, through some treachery (as was supposed) of the Megarensians, Charinus procured a decree, that an implacable and an eternal enmity should subsist between the Athenians and them; that if any Megarensian should set foot on Attic ground, he should be put to death; that to the oath which their generals used to take,

this particular should be added, that they would twice a-year make an inroad into the territories of Megara; and that Anthemocritus should be buried at the Thriasian gate, called *Dipylus*.

The Megarensians, however, deny their being concerned in the murder of Anthemocritus, and lay the war entirely at the door of Aspasia and Pericles.

It is not, indeed, easy to discover what was the real origin of the war: but at the same time all agree, it was the fault of Pericles that the decree against Megara was not annulled. Some say, his firmness in that case was the effect of his prudence and magnanimity, as he considered that demand only as a trial, and thought the least concession would be understood as an acknowledgment of weakness: but others will have it, that his treating the Lacedæmonians with so little ceremony, was owing to his obstinacy, and an ambition to display his power.

But the worst cause of all assigned for the war, and which, notwithstanding, is confirmed by most historians, is as follows: Phidias the statuary had undertaken (as we have said) the statue of Minerva. The friendship and influence he had with Pericles exposed him to envy, and procured him many enemies, who, willing to make an experiment upon him, what judgment the people might pass on Pericles himself, persuaded Menon, one of Phidias's workmen, to place himself as a suppliant in the *forum*, and to entreat the protection of the republic while he lodged an information against Phidias. The people granting his request, and the affair coming to a public trial, the allegation of theft, which Menon brought against him, was shown to be groundless. For Phidias, by the advice of Pericles, had managed the matter from the first with so much art, that the gold with which the statue was overlaid could easily be taken off and weighed; and Pericles ordered this to be done by the accusers. But the excellence of his work, and the envy arising thence, was the thing that ruined Phidias; and it was particularly insisted upon, that in his representation of the battle with the Amazons upon Minerva's shield, he had introduced his own effigies as a bald old man taking up a great stone with both hands, and a high-finished picture of Pericles fighting with an Amazon. The last was contrived with so much art, that the hand, which, in lifting up the spear, partly covered the face, seemed to be intended to conceal the likeness, which yet was very striking on both sides. Phidias, therefore, was thrown

into prison, where he died a natural death,* though some say, poison was given him by his enemies, who were desirous of causing Pericles to be suspected. As for the accuser Menon, he had an immunity from taxes granted him, at the motion of Glycon, and the generals were ordered to provide for his security.

About this time Aspasia was prosecuted for impiety, by Hermippus, a comic poet. And Diopithes procured a decree, that those who disputed the existence of the gods, or introduced new opinions about celestial appearances, should be tried before an assembly of the people. This charge was levelled first at Anaxagoras, and through him at Pericles. And as the people admitted it, another decree was proposed by Dracontides, that Pericles should give an account of the public money before the *Prytanes*, and that the judges should take the ballots from the altar, and try the cause in the city. But Agnon caused the last article to be dropped, and instead thereof, it was voted that the action should be laid before the fifteen hundred judges, either for *peculation*, and *taking of bribes*, or simply for *corrupt practices*.

Aspasia was acquitted, though much against the tenor of the law, by means of Pericles, who (according to Æschines) shed many tears in his application for mercy for her. He did not expect the same indulgence for Anaxagoras,† and therefore caused him to quit the city, and conducted him part of the way. And as he himself was become obnoxious to the people upon Phidias's account, and was afraid of being called in question for it, he urged on the war, which as yet was uncertain, and blew up that flame which, till then, was stifled and suppressed. By this means he hoped to obviate the accusations that threatened him, and to mitigate the rage of envy, because such was his dignity and power, that in all important affairs, and in every great danger, the republic could place its confidence in him alone. These are said to be the reasons which induced him to persuade the people not to grant the demands of the Lacedæmonians; but what was the real cause is quite uncertain.

The Lacedæmonians, persuaded that, if they could remove Pericles out of the way, they should be better able to manage

* Others say, that he was banished, and that in his exile he made the famous statue of Jupiter at Olympia.

† Anaxagoras held the unity of God,—that it was one all-wise intelligence which raised the beautiful structure of the world out of the Chaos.

the Athenians, required them to banish all *everable* persons from among them: and Pericles (as Thucydides informs us) was by his mother's side related to those that were pronounced *everable*, in the affair of Cylon. The success, however, of this application proved the reverse of what was expected by those that ordered it. Instead of rendering Pericles suspected, or involving him in trouble, it procured him the more confidence and respect from the people, when they perceived that their enemies both hated and dreaded him above all others. For the same reason he forewarned the Athenians, that if Archidamus, when he entered Attica at the head of the Peloponnesians, and ravaged the rest of the country, should spare his estate, it must be owing either to the rights of hospitality that subsisted between them, or to a design to furnish his enemies with matter of slander; and therefore from that hour he gave his lands and houses to the city of Athens. The Lacedæmonians and confederates accordingly invaded Attica with a great army under the conduct of Archidamus: and laying waste all before them, proceeded as far as Acharnæ,* where they encamped, expecting that the Athenians would not be able to endure them so near, but meet them in the field for the honour and safety of their country. But it appeared to Pericles too hazardous to give battle to an army of sixty thousand men (for such was the number of the Peloponnesians and Bœotians employed in the first expedition,) and by that step to risk no less than the preservation of the city itself. As to those that were eager for an engagement, and uneasy at his slow proceedings, he endeavoured to bring them to reason by observing, "That trees, when lopped, will soon grow again; but when men are cut off, the loss is not easily repaired."

In the meantime he took care to hold no assembly of the people, lest he should be forced to act against his own opinion. But as a good pilot, when a storm arises at sea, gives his directions, gets his tackle in order, and then uses his art, regardless of the tears and entreaties of the sick and fearful passengers; so Pericles, when he had secured the gates, and placed the guards in every quarter, to the best advantage, followed the dictates of his own understanding, unmoved by the clamours and complaints that resounded in his ears. Thus firm he remained, notwithstanding the importunity of his friends, and the threats and accusations of his enemies; notwithstanding the many scoffs, and songs sung, to vilify his

* The borough of Acharnæ was only fifteen hundred paces from the city.

character as a general, and to represent him as one who, in the most dastardly manner, betrayed his country to the enemy. Cleon, too, attacked him with great acrimony, making use of the general resentment against Pericles, as a means to increase his own popularity, as Hermippus testifies in these verses :

Sleeps then, thou king of Satyrs, sleeps the spear,
While thundering words make war ? why boast thy prowess,
Yet shudder at the sound of sharpened swords
Spite of the flaming Cleon ?

Pericles, however, regarded nothing of this kind, but calmly and silently bore all this disgrace and virulence. And though he fitted out an hundred ships, and sent them against Peloponnessus, yet he did not sail with them, but chose to stay and watch over the city, and keep the reins of government in his own hands, until the Peloponnesians were gone. In order to satisfy the common people, who were very uneasy on account of the war, he made a distribution of money and lands ; for having expelled the inhabitants of Ægina, he divided the island by lot among the Athenians. Besides, the sufferings of the enemy afforded them some consolation. The fleet sent against Peloponnessus ravaged a large tract of country, and sacked the small towns and villages : and Pericles himself made a descent upon the territories of Megara, which he laid waste. Whence it appears, that though the Peloponnesians greatly distressed the Athenians by land, yet, as they were equally distressed by sea, they could not have drawn out the war to so great a length, but must soon have given it up, (as Pericles foretold from the beginning,) had not some divine power prevented the effect of human counsels. A pestilence at that time broke out, which destroyed the flower of the youth and the strength of Athens. And not only their bodies, but their very minds were affected ; for, as persons delirious with a fever set themselves against a physician or a father, so they raved against Pericles, and attempted his ruin ; being persuaded by his enemies, that the sickness was occasioned by the multitude of out-dwellers flocking into the city, and a number of people stuffed together, in the height of summer, in small huts and close cabins, where they were forced to live a lazy, inactive life, instead of breathing the pure and open air to which they had been accustomed. They would needs have it, that he was the cause of all this, who, when the war began, admitted within the walls such crowds of people from the country, and yet found no employment for them, but let them

continue penned up like cattle, to infect and destroy each other, without affording them the least relief or refreshment.

Desirous to remedy this calamity, and withal in some degree to annoy the enemy, he manned a hundred and fifty ships, on which he embarked great numbers of select horse and foot, and was preparing to set sail. The Athenians conceived good hopes of success, and the enemy no less dreaded so great an armament. The whole fleet was in readiness and Pericles on board his own galley, when there happened an eclipse of the sun. The sudden darkness was looked upon as an unfavourable omen, and threw them into the greatest consternation. Pericles, observing that the pilot was much astonished and perplexed, took his cloak, and having covered his eyes with it, asked him, "If he found anything terrible in that, or considered it as a sad presage?" Upon his answering in the negative, he said, "Where is the difference, then, between this and the other, except that something bigger than my cloak causes the eclipse?"

In this expedition Pericles performed nothing worthy of so great an equipment. He laid siege to the sacred city of Epidaurus, and at first with some rational hopes of success; but the distemper which prevailed in his army broke all his measures; for it not only carried off his own men, but all that had intercourse with them. As this ill success set the Athenians against him, he endeavoured to console them under their losses, and to animate them to new attempts. But it was not in his power to mitigate their resentment, nor could they be satisfied, until they had showed themselves masters, by voting that he should be deprived of the command, and pay a fine, which by the lowest account was fifteen talents; some make it fifty. The person that carried on the prosecution against him was Cleon, as Idomeueus tells us; or, according to Theophrastus, Simmas; or Lacratides, if we believe Heraclides of Pontus.

The public ferment, indeed, soon subsided; the people quitting their resentment with that blow, as a bee leaves its sting in the wound: but his private affairs were in a miserable condition, for he had lost a number of his relations in the plague, and a misunderstanding had prevailed for some time in his family. Xanthippus, the eldest of his sons, was naturally profuse, and besides had married a young and expensive wife, daughter to Isander, and grand-daughter to Epylicus. He knew not how to brook his father's frugality, who supplied

him but sparingly, and with a little at a time, and therefore sent to one of his friends, and took up money in the name of Pericles. When the man came to demand his money, Pericles not only refused to pay him, but even prosecuted him for the demand. Xanthippus was so highly enraged at this, that he began openly to abuse his father. First, he exposed and ridiculed the company he kept in his house and the conversations he held with the philosophers. He said, that Epitimius the Pharsalian having undesignedly killed a horse with a javelin which he threw at the public games, his father spent a whole day in disputing with Protagorus, which might be properly deemed the cause of his death, the javelin, or the man that threw it, or the president of the games. He was carried off by the plague. Pericles lost his sister, too, at that time, and the greatest part of his relations and friends who were most capable of assisting him in the business of the state. Notwithstanding these misfortunes, he lost not his dignity of sentiment and greatness of soul. He neither wept, nor performed any funeral rites, nor was he seen at the grave of any of his nearest relations, until the death of Paralus, his last surviving son. This at last subdued him. He attempted, indeed, then to keep up his usual calm behaviour and serenity of mind; but, on putting the garland upon the head of the deceased, his firmness forsook him; he could not bear the sad spectacle; he broke out into loud lamentations, and shed a torrent of tears; a passion which he had never before given way to.

Athens made a trial, in the course of a year, of the rest of her generals and orators, and finding none of sufficient weight and authority for so important a charge, she once more turned her eyes on Pericles, and invited him to take upon him the direction of affairs both military and civil. He had for some time shut himself up at home to indulge his sorrow, when Alcibiades and his other friends persuaded him to make his appearance. The people making an apology for their ungenerous treatment of him, he re-assumed the reins of government.

About this time Pericles was seized with the plague; but not with such acute and continued symptoms as it generally shows. It was rather a lingering distemper, which, with frequent intermissions, and by slow degrees, consumed his body, and impaired the vigour of his mind. Theophrastus has a disquisition in his *Ethics*, whether men's characters may be changed with their fortune, and the soul so affected with the

disorders of the body as to lose her virtue; and there he relates that Pericles showed to a friend, who came to visit him in his sickness, an amulet which the women had hung about his neck, intimating that he must be sick indeed, since he submitted to so ridiculous a piece of superstition.

When he was at the point of death, his surviving friends and the principal citizens sitting about his bed, discoursed together concerning his extraordinary virtue, and the great authority he had enjoyed, and enumerated his various exploits, and the number of his victories; for, while he was commander in chief, he had erected no less than nine trophies to the honour of Athens. These things they talked of, supposing that he attended not to what they said, but that his senses were gone. He took notice, however, of every word they had spoken, and thereupon delivered himself audibly as follows. "I am surprised, that while you dwell upon and extol these acts of mine, though fortune had her share in them, and many other generals have performed the like, you take no notice of the greatest and most honourable part of my character, *that no Athenian, through my means, ever put on mourning.*"

Pericles undoubtedly deserved admiration, not only for the candour and moderation which he ever retained, amidst the distractions of business and the rage of his enemies, but for that noble sentiment which led him to think it his most excellent attainment, never to have given way to envy or anger, notwithstanding the greatness of his power, nor to have nourished an implacable hatred against his greatest foe. In my opinion, this one thing, I mean his mild and dispassionate behaviour, his unblemished integrity and irreproachable conduct during his whole administration, makes his appellation of Olympius, which would otherwise be vain and absurd, no longer exceptionable; nay, gives it a propriety. Thus, we think the divine powers as the authors of all good, and naturally incapable of producing evil, worthy to rule and preside over the universe. Not in the manner which the poets relate, who, while they endeavour to bewilder us by their irrational opinions, stand convicted of inconsistency, by their own writing. For they represent the place which the gods inhabit, as the region of security and the most perfect tranquillity, unapproached by storms and unsullied with clouds, where a sweet serenity for ever reigns, and a pure *æther* displays itself without interruption; and these they think mansions suitable to a blessed and immortal nature. Yet, at the same time, they

represent the gods themselves as full of anger, malevolence, hatred, and other passions, unworthy even of a reasonable man. But this by the bye.

The state of public affairs soon showed the want of Pericles,* and the Athenians openly expressed their regret for his loss. Even those who, in his lifetime, could but ill brook his superior power, as thinking themselves eclipsed by it, yet upon a trial of other orators and demagogues, after he was gone, soon acknowledged that where severity was required, no man was ever more moderate; or if mildness was necessary, no man better kept up his dignity, than Pericles. And his so much envied authority, to which they had given the name of monarchy and tyranny, then appeared to have been the bulwark of the state. So much corruption and such a rage of wickedness broke out upon the commonwealth after his death, which he by proper restraints had palliated, and kept from dangerous and destructive extremities.

* Pericles died in the third year of the Peloponnesian war, that is, in the last year of the eighty-seventh Olympiad, and 428 years before the Christian æra.

PELOPIDAS.



ATO the elder, hearing somebody commend a man who was rashly and indiscreetly daring in war, made this just observation, that *there was great difference between a due regard to valour and a contempt of life.* To this purpose there is a story of one of the soldiers of Antigonus, who was astonishingly brave, but of an unhealthy complexion and bad habit of body. The king asked him the cause of his paleness, and he acknowledged that he had a private infirmity. He therefore gave his physicians a strict charge, that if any remedy could be found, they should apply it with the utmost care. Thus the man was cured; but then he no longer courted, nor risked his person as before. Antigonus questioned him about it, and could not forbear to express his wonder at the change. The soldier did not conceal the real cause: "You, Sire," said he, "have made me less bold, by delivering me from that misery, which made my life of no account to me." From the same way of arguing it was, that a certain Sybarite said of the Spartans, "It was no wonder if they ventured their lives freely in battle, since death was a deliverance to them from such a train of labours, and from such wretched diet." It was natural for the Sybarites,* who were dissolved in luxury and pleasure, to think that they who despised death, did it not from a love of virtue and honour, but because they were weary of life. But in fact, the Lacedæmonians thought it a pleasure either to live or to die, as virtue and right reason directed; and so this epitaph testifies:

Not life, nor death, they deem'd the happier state;
But life that's glorious, or a death that's great

For neither is the avoiding of death to be found fault with, if a man is not dishonourably fond of life: nor is the meeting it with courage to be commended, if he is disgusted with life. Hence it is, that Homer leads out the boldest and bravest of his warriors to battle always well armed. and the Grecian law-

* The Sybarites were a colony of Greeks, who settled in ancient times on the gulf of Taientum. The felicity of their situation, their wealth and power drew them into luxury, which was remarkable to a proverb

givers punish him who throws away his shield, not him who loses his sword or spear; thus instructing us, that the first care of every man, especially of every governor of a city, or commander of an army, should be, to defend himself, and after that, he is to think of annoying the enemy. For if, according to the comparison made by Iphicrates, the light-armed resemble the hands, the cavalry the feet, the main body of infantry the breast, and the general the head; then that general who suffers himself to be carried away by his impetuosity, so as to expose himself to needless hazards, not only endangers his own life, but the lives of his whole army, whose safety depends upon his. Callicratidas, therefore, though otherwise a great man, did not answer the soothsayer well, who desired him not to expose himself to danger, because the entrails of the victim threatened his life. "Sparta," said he, "is not bound up in one man." For in battle, he was indeed but one, when acting under the orders of another, whether at sea or land; but when he had the command, he virtually comprehended the whole force in himself; so that he was no longer a single person, when such numbers must perish with him. Much better was the saying of old Antigonus, when he was going to engage in a sea-fight near the isle of Andros. Somebody observed to him that the enemy's fleet was much larger than his: "For how many ships then dost thou reckon me?" He represented the importance of the commander great, as in fact it is, when he is a man of experience and valour; and the first duty of such a one is to preserve him who preserves the whole.

On the same account we must allow that Timotheus expressed himself happily, when Chares showed the Athenians the wounds he had received, when their general, and his shield pierced with a spear: "I, for my part," said he, "was much ashamed when, at the siege of Samos, a javelin fell near me, as if I had behaved too like a young man, and not as became the commander of so great an armament." For where the scale of the whole action turns upon the general's risking his own person, there he is to stand the combat, and to brave the greatest danger, without regarding those who say, that a good general should die of old age; or, at least, an old man: but when the advantage to be reaped from his personal bravery is but small, and all is lost in case of a miscarriage, no one then expects that the general should be endangered, by exerting too much of the soldier.

Pelopidas, the son of Hippoclus, was of an illustrious family

in Thebes, as was also Epaminondas. Brought up in affluence, and coming in his youth to a great estate, he applied himself to relieve such necessitous persons as deserved his bounty, to show that he was really master of his riches, not their slave. For the greatest part of men, as Aristotle says, either through covetousness make no use of their wealth, or else abuse it through prodigality; and these live perpetual slaves to their pleasures, as those do to care and toil. The Thebans with grateful hearts enjoyed the liberality and munificence of Pelopidas. Epaminondas alone could not be persuaded to share in it. Pelopidas, however, partook in the poverty of his friend, glorying in a plainness of dress and slenderness of diet, indefatigable in labour, and plain and open in his conduct in the highest posts. In short, he was like Capaneus in Euripides,

———whose opulence was great,
And yet his heart is not elated

He looked upon it as a disgrace to expend more upon his own person than the poorest Theban. As for Epaminondas, poverty was his inheritance, and consequently familiar to him, but he made it still more light and easy by philosophy, and by the uniform simplicity of his life.

Pelopidas married into a noble family, and had several children, but setting no greater value upon money than before, and devoting all his time to the concerns of the commonwealth, he impaired his substance. And when his friends admonished him, that *money which he neglected was a very necessary thing*: *It is necessary indeed*, said he, *for Nicodemus there*, pointing to a man that was both lame and blind.

Epaminondas and he were both equally inclined to every virtue, but Pelopidas delighted more in the exercises of the body, and Epaminondas in the improvement of the mind; and the one diverted himself in the wrestling-ring or in hunting, while the other spent his hours of leisure in hearing or reading something in philosophy. Among the many things that reflected glory upon both, there was nothing which men of sense so much admired as that strict and inviolable friendship, which subsisted between them from first to last, in all the high posts which they held, both military and civil. For if we consider the administration of Aristides and Themistocles, of Cimon and Pericles, of Nicias and Alcibiades, how much the common concern was injured by their dissension, their envy and jealousy of each other, and then cast our eyes upon the

mutual kindness and esteem which Pelopidas and Epaminondas inviolably preserved, we may justly call these colleagues in civil government and military command, and not those whose study it was to get the better of each other rather than of the enemy. The true cause of the difference was the virtue of these Thebans, which led them not to seek, in any of their measures, their own honour and wealth, the pursuit of which is always attended with envy and strife; but being both inspired from the first with a divine ardour to raise their country to the summit of glory, for this purpose they availed themselves of the achievements of each other, as if they had been their own.

But many are of opinion, that their extraordinary friendship took its rise from the campaign which they made at Mantinea,* among the succours which the Thebans had sent the Lacedæmonians, who as yet were their allies. For, being placed together among the heavy-armed infantry, and fighting with the Arcadians, the wing of the Lacedæmonians in which they were gave way and was broken; whereupon Pelopidas and Epaminondas locked their shields together, and repulsed all that attacked them, till at last Pelopidas, having received seven large wounds, fell upon a heap of friends and enemies who lay dead together. Epaminondas, though he thought there was no life left in him, yet stood forward to defend his body and his arms, and being determined to die rather than leave his companion in the power of his enemies, he engaged with numbers at once. He was now in extreme danger, being wounded in the breast with a spear, and in the arm with a sword, when Agesipolis, king of the Lacedæmonians, brought succours from the other wing, and, beyond all expectation, delivered them both.

After this, the Spartans, in appearance, treated the Thebans as friends and allies, but, in reality, they were suspicious of their spirit and power; particularly they hated the party of Ismenias and Androclides, in which Pelopidas was, as attached to liberty and a popular government. Therefore Archias, Leontidas, and Philip, men inclined to an oligarchy, and rich withal, and ambitious, persuaded Phæbidas, the Lacedæmonian, who was marching by Thebes with a body of troops,†

* We must take care not to confound this with the famous battle at Mantinea, in which Epaminondas was slain. For that battle was fought against the Lacedæmonians, and thus for them. The action here spoken of was probably about the third year of the ninety-eighth Olympiad.

† This happened in the third year of the ninety-ninth Olympiad, three hundred and seventy-four years before the Christian era.

to seize the castle called Cadmea, to drive the party out of the city, and to put the administration into the hands of the nobility, subject to the inspection of the Lacedæmonians Phœbidas listened to the proposal, and coming upon the Thebans unexpectedly, during the feast of the *Thesmophoria*, he made himself master of the citadel, and seized Ismenias, and carried him to Lacedæmon, where he was put to death soon after Pelopidas, Pherenicus, and Androclides, with many others that fled, were sentenced to banishment. But Epaminondas remained upon the spot, being despised for his philosophy, as a man who would not intermeddle with affairs, and for his poverty, as a man of no power.

Though the Lacedæmonians took the command of the army from Phœbidas, and fined him in a hundred thousand drachmas, yet they kept a garrison in the Cadmea notwithstanding. All the rest of Greece was surprised at this absurdity of theirs, in punishing the actor and yet authorizing the action. As for the Thebans, who had lost their ancient form of government, and were brought into subjection by Archias and Leontidas, there was no room for them to hope to be delivered from the tyranny, which was supported in such a manner by the power of the Spartans that it could not be pulled down, unless those Spartans could be deprived of their dominion both by sea and land.

Nevertheless, Leontidas, having got intelligence that the exiles were at Athens, and that they were treated there with great regard by the people, and no less respected by the nobility, formed secret designs against their lives. For this purpose he employed certain unknown assassins, who took off Androclides; but all the rest escaped. Letters were also sent to the Athenians from Sparta, insisting that they should not harbour or encourage exiles, but drive them out as persons declared by the confederates to be common enemies; but the Athenians, agreeable to their usual and natural humanity as well as in gratitude to the city of Thebes, would not suffer the least injury to be done to the exiles. For the Thebans had greatly assisted in restoring the democracy at Athens, having made a decree that if any Athenian should march armed through Bœotia against the tyrants, he should not meet with the least hindrance or molestation in that country.

Pelopidas, though he was one of the youngest, applied to each exile in particular, as well as harangued them in a body; urging "That it was both dishonourable and impious to leave their native city enslaved and garrisoned by an enemy; and, meanly contented with their own lives and safety, to wait for the

decrees of the Athenians, and to make their court to the popular orators; but that they ought to run every hazard in so glorious a cause, imitating the courage and patriotism of Thrasybulus; for as he advanced from Thebes to crush the tyrants in Athens, so should they march from Athens to deliver Thebes.

Thus persuaded to accept his proposal, they sent privately to their friends who were behind in Thebes, to acquaint them with their resolution, which was highly approved of; and Charon, a person of the first rank, offered his house for their reception. Philidas found means to be appointed secretary to Archias and Philip, who were then *Polemarch's*; and as for Epaminondas, he had taken pains all along to inspire the youth with sentiments of bravery. For he desired them in the public exercises to try the Lacedæmonians at wrestling, and when he saw them elated with success, he used to tell them, by way of reproof, "That they should rather be ashamed of their meanness of spirit in remaining subject to those to whom, in strength, they were so much superior."

A day being fixed for putting their designs in execution, it was agreed among the exiles, that Pherenicus with the rest should stay at Thriasium, while a few of the youngest should attempt to get entrance first into the city; and that if those happened to be surprised by the enemy, the others should take care to provide for their children and their parents. Pelopidas was the first that offered to be of this party, and then Melon, Democlide, and Theopompus, all men of noble blood, who were united to each other by the most faithful friendship, and who never had any contest but which should be foremost in the race of glory and valour. These adventurers, who were twelve in number, having embraced those that stayed behind, and sent a messenger before them to Charon, set out in their under garments, with dogs and hunting poles, that none who met them might have any suspicion of what they were about, and that they might seem to be only hunters beating about for game.

When their messenger came to Charon, and acquainted him that they were on their way to Thebes, the near approach of danger changed not his resolution: he behaved like a man of honour, and made preparations to receive them. Hipposthenidas, who was also in the secret, was not by any means an ill man, but rather a friend to his country and to the exiles; yet he wanted that firmness which the present emergency and the hazardous point of execution required. He grew giddy, as it were, at the thought of the great danger they were about to

plunge in, and at last opened his eyes enough to see, that they were attempting to shake the Lacedæmonian government, and to free themselves from that power without any other dependence than that of a few indigent persons and exiles. He therefore went to his own house without saying a word and despatched one of his friends to Melon and Pelopidas, to desire them to defer their enterprise for the present, to return to Athens, and to wait till a more favourable opportunity offered.

Chlidon, for that was the name of the man sent upon this business, went home in all haste, took his horse out of the stable, and called for the bridle. His wife being at a loss, and not able to find it, said she had lent it to a neighbour. Upon this, words arose, and mutual reproaches followed; the woman venting bitter imprecations, and wishing that the journey might be fatal both to him and those that sent him. So that Chlidon, having spent great part of the day in this squabble, and looking upon what had happened as ominous, laid aside all thoughts of the journey, and went elsewhere. So near was this great and glorious undertaking to being disconcerted at the very entrance.

Pelopidas and his company, now in the dress of peasants, divided and entered the town at different quarters, whilst it was yet day. And, as the cold weather was setting in,* there happened to be a sharp wind and a shower of snow, which concealed them the better, most people returning into their houses, to avoid the inclemency of the weather. But those that were concerned in the affair, received them as they came, and conducted them immediately to Charon's house; the exiles and others making up the number of forty-eight.

As for the affairs of the tyrants, they stood thus: Philidas, their secretary, knew the whole design of the exiles, and omitted nothing that might contribute to its success. He had invited Archias and Philip, some time before, to an entertainment at his house on that day, in order that those who were to attack them might find them dissolved in wine and pleasure. They had not yet drunk very freely, when a report reached them, which, though not false, seemed uncertain and obscure, that the exiles were concealed somewhere in the city. And though Philidas endeavoured to turn the discourse, Archias sent an officer to Charon, to command his immediate attendance. By this time it was grown dark, and Pelopidas and his companions were preparing for

* The Spartans seized on the Cadmea about the middle of summer, in the year already mentioned, and it was taken from them in the beginning of winter in the first year of the hundredth Olympiad.

action, having already put on their breast-plates and girt their swords, when suddenly there was a knocking at the door; whereupon one ran to it, and asked what the person's business was, and having learned from the officer that he was sent by the Polemarchs to fetch Charon, he brought in the news in great confusion. They were unanimous in their opinion, that the affair was discovered, and that every man of them was lost, before they had performed anything which became their valour. Nevertheless, they thought it proper that Charon should obey the order, and go boldly to the tyrants. Charon was a man of great intrepidity and courage in dangers that threatened only himself, but then he was much affected on account of his friends, and afraid that he should lie under some suspicion of treachery, if so many brave citizens should perish. Therefore, as he was ready to depart, he took his son, who was yet a child, but of a beauty and strength beyond those of his years, out of the women's apartment, and put him in the hands of Pelopidas, desiring, "That if he found him a traitor, he would treat that child as an enemy, and not spare its life." Many of them shed tears, when they saw the concern and magnanimity of Charon; and all expressed their uneasiness at his thinking any of them so dastardly and so much disconcerted with the present danger, as to be capable of suspecting or blaming him in the least. They begged of him, therefore, not to leave his son with them, but to remove him out of the reach of what might possibly happen, to some place where, safe from the tyrants, he might be brought up to be an avenger of his country and his friends. But Charon refused to remove him, "For what life," said he, "or what deliverance could I wish him that would be more glorious than his falling honourably with his father and so many of his friends?" Then he addressed himself in prayer to the gods, and having embraced and encouraged them all, he went out; endeavouring by the way to compose himself, to form his countenance, and to assume a tone of voice very different from the real state of his mind.

When he was come to the door of the house, Archias and Philidas went out to him and said, "What persons are these, Charon, who, as we are informed, are lately come into the town, and are concealed and countenanced by some of the citizens?" Charon was a little fluttered at first, but soon recovering himself, he asked, "Who these persons they spoke of were, and by whom harboured?" And finding that Archias had no clear account of the matter, concluded from thence that his informa-

tion came not from any person that was privy to the design, and therefore said, "Take care that you do not disturb yourselves with vain rumours. However, I will make the best inquiry I can; for, perhaps, nothing of this kind ought to be disregarded." Philidas, who was by, commended his prudence, and conducting Archias in again, plied him strongly with liquor.

When Charon was returned home, he found his friends prepared, not to conquer or to preserve their lives, but to sell them dear, and to fall gloriously. He told Pelopidas the truth, but concealed it from the rest, pretending that Archias had discoursed with him about other matters.

The first storm was scarcely blown over when fortune raised a second. For there arrived an express from Athens with a letter from Archias, high priest there, to Archias his namesake and particular friend, not filled with vain and groundless surmises, but containing a clear narrative of the whole affair, as was found afterwards. The messenger being admitted to Archias, now almost intoxicated, as he delivered the letter, said, "The person who sent this desired that it might be read immediately, for it contains business of great importance." But Archias receiving it, said, smiling, *Business to-morrow*. Then he put it under the bolster of his couch, and resumed the conversation with Philidas. This saying, *business to-morrow*, passed into a proverb, and continues so among the Greeks to this day.

A good opportunity now offering for the execution of their purpose, the friends of liberty divided themselves into two bodies and sallied out. Pelopidas and Demochidas went against Leontidas and Hypates, who were neighbours, and Charon and Melon against Archias and Philip. Charon and his company put women's clothes over their armour, and wore thick wreaths of pine and poplar upon their heads to shadow their faces. As soon as they came to the door of the room where the guests were, the company shouted and clapped their hands. When the pretended women had looked round the room and distinctly surveyed all the guests they drew their swords, and, making at Archias and Philip across the table, they showed who they were. A small part of the company were persuaded by Philidas not to intermeddle; the rest engaged in the combat, and stood up for the *Polemarchs*, but, being disordered with wine, were easily despatched.

Pelopidas and his party had a more difficult affair of it. They had to do with Leontidas, a sober and valiant man. They

found the door made fast, for he was gone to bed, and they knocked a long time before anybody heard. At last a servant perceived it, and came down and removed the bar; which he had no sooner done than they pushed open the door, and, rushing in, threw the man down and ran to the bed-chamber. Leontidas, conjecturing by the noise and trampling what the matter was, leaped from his bed and seized his sword; but he forgot to put out the lamps, which, had he done it, would have left them to fall foul on each other in the dark. Being, therefore, fully exposed to view, he met them at the door, and with one stroke laid Cephisodorus, who was the first man who attempted to enter, dead at his feet. He encountered Pelopidas next, and the narrowness of the door, together with the dead body of Cephisodorus lying in the way, made the dispute long and doubtful. At last Pelopidas prevailed, and having slain Leontidas, he marched immediately with his little band against Hypates. They got into his house in the same manner as they did into the other; but he quickly perceived them, made his escape into a neighbour's house, whither they followed and despatched him.

This affair being over, they joined Melon, and sent for the exiles they had left in Attica. They proclaimed liberty to all the Thebans, and armed such as came over to them, taking down the spoils that were suspended upon the porticoes, and the arms out of the shops of the armourers and sword-cutlers. Epaminondas and Gorgidas came to their assistance with a considerable body of young men and a select number of the old, whom they had collected and armed.

The whole city was now in great terror and confusion; the houses were filled with lights, and the streets with men running to and fro. The people, however, did not yet assemble; but being astonished at what had happened, and knowing nothing with certainty, they waited with impatience for the day. It seems, therefore, to have been a great error in the Spartan officers that they did not immediately sally out and fall upon them, for their garrison consisted of fifteen hundred men, and they were joined besides by many people from the city; but, terrified at the shouts, the lights, the hurry, and confusion that were on every side, they contented themselves with preserving the citadel.

As soon as it was day the exiles from Attica came in armed; the people complied with the summons to assemble, and Epaminondas and Gorgidas presented to them Pelopidas and his

party, surrounded by the priests, who carried garlands in their hands, and called upon the citizens to exert themselves for their gods and their country. Excited by this appearance, the whole assembly stood up and received them with great acclamations as their benefactors and deliverers.

Pelopidas, then elected governor of Boeotia, together with Melon and Charon, immediately blocked up and attacked the citadel, hastening to drive out the Lacedæmonians, and to recover the *Cadmea* before succours could arrive from Sparta. And indeed he was but a little beforehand with them, for they had but just surrendered the place, and were returning home, according to capitulation, when they met Cleombrotus at Margara marching towards Thebes with a great army. The Spartans called to account the three *Harmostææ*, officers who had commanded in the *Cadmea*, and signed the capitulation. Hermippidas and Arcissus were executed for it, and the third, named Dysaoridas, was so severely fined that he was forced to quit Peloponnesus.

This action of Pelopidas was called by the Greeks sister to that of Thrasybulus, on account of their near resemblance, not only in respect of the great virtues of the men, and the difficulties they had to combat, but the success with which fortune crowned them. For it is not easy to find another instance so remarkable of the few overcoming the many, and the weak the strong, merely by dint of courage and conduct, and procuring by these means such great advantages to their country; but the change of affairs which followed upon this action rendered it still more glorious. For the war which humbled the pride of the Spartans and deprived them of their empire both by sea and land, took its rise from that night when Pelopidas, without taking town or castle, but being only one out of twelve who entered a private house, loosened and broke to pieces (if we may express truth by a metaphor) the chains of the Spartan government, until then esteemed indissoluble.

The Lacedæmonians soon entering Boeotia with a powerful army, the Athenians were struck with terror, and, renouncing their alliance with the Thebans, they took cognizance in a judicial way of all that continued in the interest of that people; some they put to death, some they banished, and upon others they laid heavy fines. The Thebans being thus deserted by their allies, their affairs seemed to be in a desperate situation. But Pelopidas and Gorgidas, who then had the command in Boeotia, sought means to embroil the Athenians again with the

Spartans, and they availed themselves of this stratagem. There was a Spartan named Sphodrias, a man of great reputation as a soldier, but of no sound judgment, sanguine in his hopes, and indiscreet in his ambition. This man was left with some troops at Thespie to receive and protect such of the Boeotians as might come over to the Spartans. To him Pelopidas privately sent a merchant, in whom he could confide, well provided with money, and with proposals that were more likely to prevail than the money: "That it became him to undertake some noble enterprise—to surprise the Piræus, for instance, by falling suddenly upon the Athenians, who were not provided to receive him, for that nothing could be so agreeable to the Spartans as to be masters of Athens, and that the Thebans, now incensed against the Athenians, and considering them as traitors, would lend them no manner of assistance."

Sphodrias, suffering himself at last to be persuaded, marched into Attica by night, and advanced as far as Eleusis. There the hearts of his soldiers began to fail, and, finding his design discovered, he returned to Thespie, after he had thus brought upon the Lacedæmonians a long and dangerous war. For upon this the Athenians readily united with the Thebans, and having fitted out a large fleet they sailed round Greece, engaging and receiving such as were inclined to shake off the Spartan yoke.

Meantime the Thebans, by themselves, frequently came to action with the Lacedæmonians in Boeotia, not in set battles, indeed, but in such as were of considerable service and improvement to them, for their spirits were raised, their bodies inured to labour, and, by being used to these rencounters, they gained both experience and courage. Hence it was that Antalcidas, the Spartan, said to Agesilaus, when he returned from Boeotia wounded, *Truly you are well paid for the instruction you have given the Thebans, and for teaching them the art of war against their will.* Though, to speak properly, Agesilaus was not their instructor, but those prudent generals who made choice of fit opportunities to let loose the Thebans, like so many young hounds, upon the enemy, and when they had tasted of victory, satisfied with the ardour they had shown, brought them off again safe. The chief honour of this was due to Pelopidas, for from the time of his being first chosen general, until his death, there was not a year that he was out of employment, but he was constantly either captain of the sacred band or governor of Boeotia. And while he was employed the Lacedæmonians were

several times defeated by the Thebans, particularly at Plataæ, and at Thespiæ, where Phœbidas, who had surprised the *Cadmea*, was killed, and at Tanagra, where Pelopidas beat a considerable body, and slew with his own hand their general Panthoides.

But these combats, though they served to animate and encourage the victors, did not quite dishearten the vanquished. For they were not pitched battles, nor regular engagements, but rather advantages gained of the enemy, by well-timed skirmishes, in which the Thebans sometimes pursued and sometimes retreated.

But the battle of Tegyræ, which was a sort of prelude to that of Leuctra, lifted the character of Pelopidas very high, for none of the other commanders could lay claim to any share of the honour of the day, nor had the enemy any pretext to cover the shame of their defeat.

He kept a strict eye upon the city of Orchomenus,* which had adopted the Spartan interest, and received two companies of foot for its defence, and watched for an opportunity to make himself master of it. Being informed that the garrison were gone upon an expedition into Locris, he hoped to take the town with ease, now it was destitute of soldiers, and therefore hastened thither with the *sacred band* and a small party of horse. But finding, when he was near the town, that other troops were coming from Sparta to supply the place of those that were marched out, he led his forces back again by Tegyræ, along the sides of the mountains, which was the only way he could pass, for all the flat country was overflowed by the river Melas, which, from its very source, spreading itself into marshes and navigable pieces of water, made the lower roads impracticable.

A little below these marshes stands the temple of Apollo *Tegyriæus*, whose oracle there has not been long silent. It flourished most in the Persian wars, while Echerates was high-priest. Here they report that Apollo was born; and at the foot of the neighbouring mountain, called Delos, the Melas returns into its channel. Behind the temple rise two copious springs, whose waters are admirable for their coolness and agreeable taste. The one is called *Palm*, and the other *Olne*, to this day.

The Thebans then retreating from Orchomenus towards

* This was one of the largest and most considerable towns in Bœotia, and still garrisoned by the Lacedæmonians.

Tegyrae, the Lacedæmonians, who were returning from Locris, met them on the road. As soon as they were perceived to be passing the straits, one ran and told Pelopidas, *We are fallen into the enemy's hands. And why not they*, said he, *into ours?* At the same time he ordered the cavalry to advance from the rear to the front, that they might be ready for the attack; and the infantry, who were but three hundred,* he drew up in a close body; hoping that, wherever they charged, they would break through the enemy, though superior in numbers.

The Spartans had two battalions. Ephoras says their battalion consisted of five hundred men, but Callisthenes makes it seven hundred, and Polybius and others nine hundred. Their *Polemarchs*, Gorgoleon and Theopompus, pushed boldly on against the Thebans. The shock began in the quarter where the generals fought in person on both sides, and was very violent and furious. The Spartan commanders, who attacked Pelopidas, were among the first that were slain; and all that were near them being either killed or put to flight, the whole army was so terrified, that they opened a lane for the Thebans, through which they might have passed safely, and continued their route if they had pleased. But Pelopidas, disdaining to make his escape so, charged those who yet stood their ground, and made such havoc among them, that they fled in great confusion. The pursuit was not continued very far, for the Thebans were afraid of the Orchomenians who were near the place of battle, and of the forces just arrived from Lacedæmon. They were satisfied with beating them in fair combat, and making their retreat through a dispersed and defeated army.

Having, therefore, erected a trophy, and gathered the spoils of the slain, they returned home not a little elated. For it seems that of all their former wars, both with the Greeks and barbarians, the Lacedæmonians had never been beaten, the greater number by the less, nor even by equal numbers, in a pitched battle. Thus their courage seemed irresistible, and their renown so much intimidated their adversaries, that they did not care to hazard an engagement with them on equal terms. This battle first taught the Greeks, that it is not the Eurotas, nor the space between Babyce and Onacion, which alone pro-

* This small body was, however, the very flower of the Theban army, and was dignified by the names of the *sacred battalion* and the *band of lovers*, being equally famed for their fidelity to the Theban state, and affection for each other.

duces brave warriors, but wherever the youth are ashamed of what is base, resolute in a good cause, and more inclined to avoid disgrace than danger, there are the men who are terrible to their enemies.

Gorgidas, as some say, first formed the *sacred band*, consisting of three hundred select men, who were quartered in the *Cadmea*, and maintained and exercised at the public expense. They were called the *city band*, for citadels in those days were called cities.

But Gorgidas, by disposing those that belonged to this sacred band here and there in the first ranks, and covering the front of his infantry with them, gave them but little opportunity to distinguish themselves, or effectually to serve the common cause; thus divided as they were, and mixed with other troops more in number and of inferior resolution. But when their valour appeared with so much lustre at Tegyræ, where they fought together, and close to the person of their general, Pelopidas would never part them afterwards, but kept them in a body, and constantly charged at the head of them in the most dangerous attack. For as horses go faster when harnessed together in a chariot, than they do when driven single, not because their united force more easily breaks the air, but because their spirits are raised higher by emulation; so he thought the courage of brave men would be most irresistible, when they were acting together and contending with each other which should most excel.

But when the Lacedæmonians had made peace with the rest of the Greeks, and continued the war against the Thebans only, and when king Cleombrotus had entered their country with ten thousand foot and a thousand horse, they were not only threatened with the common dangers of war, as before, but even with total extirpation; which spread the utmost terror over all Bœotia. As Pelopidas, on this occasion, was departing for the army, his wife, who followed him to the door, besought him, with tears, to take care of himself, he answered, *My dear, private persons are to be advised to take care of themselves, but persons in a public character to take care of others.*

When he came to the army and found the general officers differing in opinion, he was the first to close in with that of Epaminondas, who proposed that they should give the enemy battle. He was not, indeed, then one of those that commanded

in chief, but he was captain of the *sacred band*; and they had that confidence in him, which was due to a man who had given his country such pledges of his regard for liberty.

The resolution thus taken to hazard a battle, and the two armies in sight at Leuctra, Pelopidas had a dream which gave him no small trouble. In that field lie the bodies of the daughters of Seedasus, who are called *Leuctrulæ* from the place. For a wrong having been done to them by some Spartans whom they had hospitably received into their house, they had killed themselves, and were buried there. Upon this, their father went to Lacedæmon, and demanded that justice should be done upon the persons who had committed so detestable and atrocious a crime; and, as he could not obtain it, he vented bitter imprecations against the Spartans, and then killed himself upon the tomb of his daughters. From that time many prophecies and oracles forewarned the Spartans to beware of the vengeance of Leuctra: the true intent of which but few understood; for they were in doubt as to the place that was meant, there being a little maritime town called Leuctrum, in Laconia, and another of the same name near Megalopolis in Arcadia. Besides, that injury was done to the daughters of Seedasus long before the battle of Leuctra.

Pelopidas then, as he slept in his tent, thought he saw these young women weeping at their tombs, and loading the Spartans with imprecations, while their father ordered him to sacrifice a red-haired young virgin to the damsels, if he desired to be victorious in the ensuing engagement. This order appearing to him cruel and unjust, he rose and communicated it to the soothsayers and the generals. Some were of opinion that it should not be neglected or disobeyed, alleging to the purpose the ancient stories of Menæceus the son of Creon, and Macaria the daughter of Hercules; and the more modern instances of Pherecydes the philosopher, who was put to death by the Lacedæmonians, and whose skin was preserved by their kings, pursuant to the direction of some oracle; of Leonidas, who by order of the oracle, too, sacrificed himself, as it were, for the sake of Greece; and lastly, of the human victims offered by Themistocles to Bacchus-omestes, before the sea-fight at Salamis; to all which sacrifices the ensuing success gave a sanction. They observed, also, that Agesilaus, setting sail from the same place that Agamemnon did, and against the same enemies, and seeing, moreover, at Aulis, the same vision of the goddess demanding his daughter in sacrifice, through an ill-

timed tenderness for his child refused it; the consequence of which was, that his expedition proved unsuccessful.

Those that were of the contrary opinion argued, that so barbarous and unjust an offering could not possibly be acceptable to any superior being; that no *Typhons* or giants, but the father of gods and men, governed the world; that it was absurd to suppose that the gods delighted in human sacrifices; and, that if any of them did, they ought to be disregarded as impotent beings, since such strange and corrupt desires could not exist but in weak and vicious minds.

While the principal officers were engaged on this subject, and Pelopidas was more perplexed than all the rest, on a sudden a she-colt quitted the herd, and ran through the camp; and when she came to the place where they were assembled, she stood still. The officers, for their part, only admired her colour, which was a shining red, the stateliness of her form, the vigour of her motions, and the sprightliness of her neighings; but Theocritus the diviner, understanding the thing better, cried out to Pelopidas, "Here comes the victim, fortunate man that thou art! wait for no other virgin, but sacrifice that which Heaven hath sent thee." They then took the colt, and led her to the tomb of the virgins, where, after the usual prayers, and the ceremony of crowning her, they offered her up with joy, not forgetting the publishing of the vision of Pelopidas, and the sacrifice required, to the whole army.

The day of battle being come, Epaminondas drew up the infantry of his left wing in an oblique form, that the right wing of the Spartans being obliged to divide from the other Greeks, he might fall with all his force upon Cleombrotus who commanded them, and break them with the greater ease. But the enemy perceiving his intention, began to change their order of battle, and to extend their right wing and wheel about, with a design to surround Epaminondas. In the meantime, Pelopidas came briskly up with his band of three hundred; and before Cleombrotus could extend his wing as he desired, or reduce it to its former dispositions, fell upon the Spartans, disordered as they were with the imperfect movement. And though the Spartans, who were excellent masters in the art of war, laboured no point so much as to keep their men from confusion and from dispersing when their ranks happened to be broken; in-somuch that the private men were as able as the officers to knit again and to make an united effort, wherever any occasion of danger required; yet Epaminondas then attacking their right

wing only, without stopping to contend with the other troops, and Pelopidas rushing upon them with incredible speed and bravery, broke their resolution and baffled their art. The consequence was such a rout and slaughter as had never been known before. For this reason Pelopidas, who had no share in the chief command, but was only captain of a small band, gained as much honour by this day's great success as Epaminondas, who was governor of Bœotia and commander of the whole army.

But soon after, they were appointed joint governors of Bœotia, and entered Peloponnesus together, where they caused several cities to revolt from the Lacedæmonians, and brought over to the Theban interest Elis, Argos, all Arcadia, and great part of Laconia itself. It was now the winter's solstice, and the latter end of the last month in the year, so that they could hold their office but a few days longer; for new governors were to succeed on the first day of the next month, and the old ones to deliver up their charge under pain of death.

The rest of their colleagues, afraid of the law, and disliking a winter campaign, were for marching home without loss of time: but Pelopidas joining with Epaminondas to oppose it, encouraged his fellow-citizens, and led them against Sparta. Having passed the Eurotas, they took many of the Lacedæmonian towns, and ravaged all the country to the very sea, with an army of seventy thousand Greeks, of which the Thebans did not make the twelfth part. But the character of those two great men, without any public order or decree, made all the allies follow, with silent approbation, wherever they led. For the first and supreme law, that of nature, seems to direct those that have need of protection, to take him for their chief who is most able to protect them. And as passengers, though in fine weather, or in port, they may behave insolently, and brave the pilots, yet, as soon as a storm arises and danger appears, fix their eyes on them, and rely wholly on their skill; so the Argives, the Elceans, and the Arcadians, in the bent of their counsels, were against the Thebans, and contended with them for superiority of command; but when the time of action came, and danger pressed hard, they followed the Theban generals of their own accord, and submitted to their orders.

In this expedition they united all Arcadia into one body, drove out the Spartans who had settled in Messenia, and called home its ancient inhabitants; they likewise re-peopled Ithome.

And in their return through Cenchrea, they defeated the Athenians, who had attacked them in the straits, with a design to hinder their passage.

After such achievements, all the other Greeks were charmed with their valour, and admired their good fortune; but the envy of their fellow-citizens, which grew up together with their glory, prepared for them a very unkind and unsuitable reception. For at their return they were both capitally tried for not delivering up their charge, according to law, in the first month which they call *Boucation*, but holding it four months longer; during which time they performed those great actions in Messenia, Arcadia, and Laconia.

Pelopidas was tried first, and therefore was in most danger; however, they were both acquitted. Epaminondas bore the accusation and attempts of malignity with great patience, for he considered it as no small instance of fortitude and magnanimity not to resent the injuries done by his fellow-citizens; but Pelopidas, who was naturally of a warmer temper, and excited by his friends to revenge himself, laid hold on this occasion.

Menechidas, the orator, was one of those who met upon the great enterprise in Charon's house. This man finding himself not held in the same honour with the rest of the deliverers of their country, and being a good speaker, though of bad principles and malevolent disposition, indulged his natural turn in accusing and calumniating his superiors; and thus he continued to do with respect to Epaminondas and Pelopidas, even after judgment was passed in their favour. He prevailed so far as to deprive Epaminondas of the government of Bœotia, and managed a party against him a long time with success: but his insinuations against Pelopidas were not listened to by the people, and therefore he endeavoured to embroil him with Charon. It is the common consolation of envy, when a man cannot maintain the higher ground himself, to represent those he is excelled by as inferior to some others. Hence it was that Menechidas was ever extolling the actions of Charon to the people, and lavishing encomiums upon his expeditions and victories. Above all, he magnified his success in a battle fought by the cavalry under his command at Plataea, a little before the battle of Leuctra, and endeavoured to perpetuate the memory of it by some public monument.

The occasion he took was this. Androcides of Cyzicum had agreed with the Thebans for a picture of some other battle,

which piece he worked at in the city of Thebes. But upon the revolt, and the war that ensued, he was obliged to quit that city, and leave the painting, which was almost finished, with the Thebans. Meneclidas endeavoured to persuade the people to hang up this piece in one of their temples, with an inscription signifying that it was one of Charon's battles, in order to cast a shade upon the glory of Pelopidas and Epaminondas. Certainly the proposal was vain and absurd to prefer one single engagement, in which there fell only Gerandas, a Spartan of no note, with forty others, to so many and such important victories. Pelopidas, therefore, opposed this motion, insisting that it was contrary to the laws and usages of the Thebans, to ascribe the honour of a victory to any one man in particular, and that their country ought to have the glory of it entire. As for Charon, he was liberal in his praises of him through his whole harangue, but he showed that Meneclidas was an envious and malicious man; and he often asked the Thebans if they had never before done anything that was great and excellent. Herenpon a heavy fine was laid upon Meneclidas; and, as he was not able to pay it, he endeavoured afterwards to disturb and overturn the government. Such particulars as these, though small, serve to give an insight into the lives and characters of men.

At that time Alexander, the tyrant of Phæræ, making open war against several cities of Thessaly, and entertaining a secret design to bring the whole country into subjection, the Thessalians sent ambassadors to Thebes to beg the favour of a general and some troops. Pelopidas seeing Epaminondas engaged in settling the affairs of Peloponnesus, offered himself to command in Thessaly, for he was unwilling that his military talents and skill should lie useless, and well satisfied withal, that wherever Epaminondas was, there was no need of any other general. He therefore marched with his forces into Thessaly, where he soon recovered Larissa; and, as Alexander came and made submission, he endeavoured to soften and humanise him, and, instead of a tyrant, to render him a just and good prince. But finding him incorrigible and brutal, and receiving fresh complaints of his cruelty, his unbridled lusts, and insatiable avarice, he thought it necessary to treat him with some severity, upon which, he made his escape with his guards.

Having now secured the Thessalians against the tyrant, and left them on a good understanding among themselves, he

advanced into Macedonia. Ptolemy had commenced hostilities against Alexander, king of that country, and they both had sent for Pelopidas to be an arbitrator of their differences, and an assistant to him who should appear to be injured. Accordingly he went and decided their disputes, recalled such of the Macedonians as had been banished, and taking Philip, the king's brother, and thirty young men of the best families as hostages, he brought them to Thebes; that he might show the Greeks to what height the Theban commonwealth was risen by the reputation of its arms, and the confidence that was placed in its justice and probity.

This was that Philip who afterwards made war upon Greece to conquer and enslave it. He was now a boy, and brought up at Thebes, in the house of Pammenes. Hence he was believed to have proposed Epaminondas for his pattern; and perhaps he was attentive to that great man's activity and happy conduct in war, which was in truth the most inconsiderable part of his character; as for his temperance, his justice, his magnanimity, and mildness, which really constituted Epaminondas the great man, Philip had no share of them, either natural or acquired.

After this, the Thessalians complaining again that Alexander of Phæræ disturbed their peace, and formed designs upon their cities, Pelopidas and Ismenias were deputed to attend them. But having no expectation of a war, Pelopidas had brought no troops with him, and therefore the urgency of the occasion obliged him to make use of the Thessalian forces.

At the same time there were fresh commotions in Macedonia; for Ptolemy had killed the king and assumed the sovereignty. Pelopidas, who was called in by the friends of the deceased, was desirous to undertake the cause; but, having no troops of his own, he hastily raised some mercenaries, and marched with them immediately against Ptolemy. Upon their approach, Ptolemy bribed the mercenaries, and brought them over to his side; yet, dreading the very name and reputation of Pelopidas, he went to pay his respects to him as his superior, endeavoured to pacify him with entreaties, and solemnly promised to keep the kingdom for the brothers of the dead king, and to regard the enemies and friends of the Thebans as his own. For the performance of these conditions he delivered to him his son Philoxemus, and fifty of his companions, as hostages. These Pelopidas sent to Thebes. But being incensed at the treachery of the mercenaries, and having intelligence that they had

lodged the best part of their effects, together with their wives and children, in Pharsalus, he thought by taking these he might sufficiently revenge the affront. Hereupon he assembled some Thessalian troops, and marched against the town. He was no sooner arrived than Alexander the tyrant appeared before it with his army. Pelopidas concluding that he was come to make apology for his conduct, went to him with Ismenias. Not that he was ignorant what an abandoned and sanguinary man he had to deal with, but he imagined that the dignity of Thebes and his own character would protect him from violence. The tyrant, however, when he saw them alone and unarmed, immediately seized their persons, and possessed himself of Pharsalus. This struck all his subjects with terror and astonishment; for they were persuaded that after such a flagrant act of injustice, he would spare nobody, but behave on all occasions, and to all persons, like a man that had desperately thrown off all regard to his own life and safety.

When the Thebans were informed of this outrage, they were filled with indignation, and gave orders to their army to march directly into Thessaly; but Epaminondas then happening to lie under their displeasure, they appointed other generals.

As for Pelopidas, the tyrant took him to Phœbe, where at first he did not deny any one access to him, imagining that he was greatly humbled by his misfortune. But Pelopidas, seeing the Phœreans overwhelmed with sorrow, bade them be comforted, because now vengeance was ready to fall upon the tyrant; and sent to tell him, "That he acted very absurdly in daily torturing and putting to death so many of his innocent subjects, and in the meantime sparing *him*, who, he might know, was determined to punish him when once out of his hands." The tyrant, surprised at his magnanimity and unconcern, made answer, "Why is Pelopidas in such haste to die?" Which being reported to Pelopidas, he replied, "It is that thou, being more hated by the gods than ever, mayest the sooner come to a miserable end."

From that time Alexander allowed access to none but his keepers. Thebe, however, the daughter of Jason, who was wife to the tyrant, having an account from those keepers of his noble and intrepid behaviour, had a desire to see him, and to have some discourse with him. When she came into the prison, she could not presently distinguish the majestic turn of his person amidst such an appearance of distress; yet supposing from the disorder of his hair, and the meanness of his attire

and provisions, that he was treated unworthily, she wept. Pelopidas, who knew not his visitor, was much surprised; but when he understood her quality, addressed her by her father's name, with whom he had been intimately acquainted. And upon her saying, "I pity your wife," he replied, "And I pity you, who, wearing no fetters, can endure Alexander." Thus affected her nearly; for she hated the cruelty and insolence of the tyrant. In consequence of this, and by frequent interviews with Pelopidas, to whom she communicated her sufferings, she conceived a still stronger resentment and aversion for her husband.

The Theban generals, who had entered Thessaly without doing anything, and either through their incapacity or ill-fortune, returned with disgrace, the city of Thebes fined each of them ten thousand *drachmas*, and gave Epaminondas the command of the army that was to act in Thessaly.

The reputation of the new general gave the Thessalians fresh spirits, and occasioned such great insurrections among them, that the tyrant's affairs seemed to be in a very desperate condition, so great was the terror that fell upon his officers and friends, so forward were his subjects to revolt, and so universal was the joy of the prospect of seeing him punished.

Epaminondas, however, preferred the safety of Pelopidas to his own fame; and fearing, if he carried matters to an extremity at first, that the tyrant might grow desperate, and destroy his prisoner, he protracted the war. By fetching a compass, as if to finish his preparations, he kept Alexander in suspense, and managed him so as neither to moderate his violence and pride, nor yet to increase his fierceness and cruelty. For he knew his savage disposition, and the little regard he paid to reason or justice: that he buried some persons alive, and dressed others in the skins of bears and wild boars, and then, by way of diversion, baited them with dogs, or despatched them with darts. That having summoned the people of Melibœa and Scotusa, towns in friendship and alliance with him, to meet him in full assembly, he surrounded them with guards, and with all the wantonness of cruelty put them to the sword: and that he consecrated the spear with which he slew his uncle Polyphron, and having crowned it with garlands, offered sacrifice to it, as to a god, and gave it the name of *Tychon*. Yet upon seeing a tragedian act the *Troudes* of Euripides, he went hastily out of the theatre, and at the same time sent a message to the actor, "Not to be discouraged, but to exert all his skill in his part; for it was not

out of any dislike that he went out, but he was ashamed that his citizens should see him, who never pitied those he put to death, weep at the sufferings of Hecuba and Andromache."

This execrable tyrant was terrified at the very name and character of Epaminondas,

And dropp'd the craven wing.

He sent an embassy in all haste to offer satisfaction, but that general did not vouchsafe to admit such a man into alliance with the Thebans; he only granted him a truce of thirty days, and having recovered Pelopidas and Ismenias out of his hands, he marched back again with his army.

Soon after this the Thebans having discovered that the Lacedæmonians and Athenians had sent ambassadors to the king of Persia, to draw him into league with them, sent Pelopidas on their part; whose established reputation amply justified their choice. For he had no sooner entered the king's dominions, than he was universally known and honoured the fame of his battles with the Lacedæmonians had spread itself through Asia; and, after his victory at Leuctra, the report of new successes continually following had extended his renown to the most distant provinces. So that when he arrived at the king's court, and appeared before the nobles and great officers that waited there, he was the object of universal admiration; "This," said they, "is the man who deprived the Lacedæmonians of the empire both of sea and land, and confined Sparta within the bounds of Taygetus and Eurotas; that Sparta, which a little before, under the conduct of Agesilaus, made war against the great king and shook the realms of Susa and Ecbatana." On the same account Artaxerxes rejoiced to see Pelopidas, and loaded him with honours. But when he heard him converse in terms that were stronger than those of the Athenians, and plainer than those of the Spartans, he admired him still more; and, as kings seldom conceal their inclinations, he made no secret of his attachment to him, but let the other ambassadors see the distinction in which he held him. It is true, that of all the Greeks he seemed to have done Antalcidas the Spartan the greatest honour, when he took the garland which he wore at table from his head, dipped it in perfumes and sent it him. But though he did not treat Pelopidas with that familiarity, yet he made him the richest and most magnificent presents, and fully granted his demands; which were, "That all the Greeks should be free and independent; that Messenes should

be re-peopled, and that the Thebans should be reckoned the king's hereditary friends."

With this answer he returned, but without accepting any of the king's presents, except some tokens of his favour and regard: a circumstance that reflected no small dishonour upon the other ambassadors. The Athenians condemned and executed Timagoras, and justly too, if it was on account of the many presents he received; for he accepted not only gold and silver, but a magnificent bed, and servants to make it, as if that was an art which the Greeks were not skilled in. He received also four-score cows, and herdsmen to take care of them, as if he wanted their milk for his health; and, at last, he suffered himself to be carried in a litter as far as the sea-coast at the king's expense, who paid four talents for his conveyance: but his receiving of presents did not seem to have been the principal thing that incensed the Athenians. For when Epicrates, the armour-bearer, acknowledged in full assembly that he had received the king's presents, and talked of proposing a decree, that instead of choosing nine *archons* every year, nine of the poorest citizens should be sent ambassadors to the king, that by his gifts they might be raised to affluence, the people only laughed at the motion. What exasperated the Athenians most was, that the Thebans had obtained of the king all they asked; they did not consider how much the character of Pelopidas outweighed the address of their orators, with a man who ever paid particular attention to military excellence.

This embassy procured Pelopidas great applause, as well on account of the re-peopling of Messene, as to the restoring of liberty to the rest of Greece.

Alexander the Pheræan was now returned to his natural disposition; he had destroyed several cities of Thessaly, and put garrisons into the towns of the Phthiotæ, the Achæans, and the Magnesians. As soon as these oppressed people had learned that Pelopidas was returned, they sent their deputies to Thebes, to beg the favour of some forces, and that he might be their general. The Thebans willingly granted their request, and an army was soon got ready; but as the general was on the point of marching, the sun began to be eclipsed, and the city was covered with darkness in the day time.

Pelopidas, seeing the people in great consternation at this *phaenomenon*, did not think proper to force the army to move, while under such terror and dismay, nor to risk the lives of seven thousand of his fellow-citizens. Instead of that, he went

himself into Thessaly, and taking with him only three hundred horse, consisting of Theban volunteers and strangers, he set out, contrary to the warnings of the soothsayers and inclinations of the people : for they considered the eclipse as a sign from heaven, the object of which must be some illustrious personage. But besides that Pelopidas was the more exasperated against Alexander by reason of the ill-treatment he had received, he hoped, from the conversation he had with Thebe, to find the tyrant's family embroiled and in great disorder. The greatest incitement, however, was the honour of the thing. He had a generous ambition to show the Greeks, at a time when the Lacedæmonians were sending generals and other officers to Dionysius the tyrant of Sicily, and the Athenians were pensioners to Alexander, as their benefactor, to whom they had erected a statue in brass, that the Thebans were the only people who took the field in behalf of the oppressed, and endeavoured to exterminate all arbitrary and unjust government.

When he had arrived at Pharsalus, he assembled his forces, and then marched directly against Alexander ; who, knowing that Pelopidas had but few Thebans about him, and that he himself had double the number of Thessalian infantry, went to meet him as far as the Temple of Thetes. When he was informed that the tyrant was advancing towards him with a great army, "*So much the better,*" said he, "*for we shall beat so many the more.*"

Near the place called Cynoscephalæ, there are two steep hills opposite each other, in the middle of the plain. Both sides endeavoured to get possession of these hills with their infantry. In the meantime Pelopidas with his cavalry, which was numerous and excellent, charged the enemy's horse, and put them to the rout. But while he was pursuing them over the plain, Alexander had gained the hills, having got before the Thessalian foot, which he attacked as they were trying to force these strong heights, killing the foremost, and wounding many of those that followed, so that they toiled without affecting anything. Pelopidas seeing this, called back his cavalry, and ordered them to fall upon such of the enemy as still kept their ground on the plain ; and taking his buckler in his hand, he ran to join those that were engaged on the hills. He soon made his way to the front, and by his presence inspired his soldiers with such vigour and alacrity, that the enemy thought they had quite different men to deal with. They stood two or

three charges; but when they found that the foot still pressed forward, and saw the horse return from the pursuit, they gave ground, and retreated, but slowly, and step by step. Pelopidas then taking a view, from an eminence, of the enemy's whole army, which did not yet take to flight, but was full of confusion and disorder, stopped a while to look round for Alexander. When he perceived him on the right encouraging and rallying the mercenaries, he was no longer master of himself; but sacrificing both his safety and his duty as a general to his passion, he sprang forward a great way before his troops, loudly calling for and challenging the tyrant, who did not dare to meet him or to wait for him, but fell back and hid himself in the midst of his guards. The foremost ranks of the mercenaries, who came hand to hand, were broken by Pelopidas, and a number of them slain; but others, fighting at a distance, pierced his armour with their javelins. The Thessalians, extremely anxious for him, ran down the hill to his assistance, but when they came to the place, they found him dead upon the ground. Both horse and foot then falling upon the enemy's main body, entirely routed them, and killed above three thousand. The pursuit continued a long way, and the fields were covered with the carcases of the slain.

Such of the Thebans as were present were greatly afflicted at the death of Pelopidas, calling him *their father, their saviour, and instructor in everything that was great and honourable*. Nor is this to be wondered at; since the Thessalians and allies, after exceeding, by their public acts in his favour, the greatest honours that are usually paid to human virtue, testified their regard for him still more sensibly by the deepest sorrow. For it is said, that those who were in the action, neither put off their armour, nor unbridled their horses, nor bound up their wounds, after they heard that he was dead; but, notwithstanding their heat and fatigue, repaired to the body, as if it still had life and sense, piled round it the spoils of the enemy, and cut off their horses' manes and their own hair.* Many of them, when they retired to their tents, neither kindled a fire nor took any refreshment; but a melancholy silence prevailed through the camp, as if, instead of gaining so great and glorious a victory, they had been worsted and enslaved by the tyrant.

When the news was carried to the towns, the magistrates, young men, children, and priests, came out to meet the body,

* A customary token of mourning among the ancients.

with trophies, crowns, and golden armour; and when the time of his interment was come, some of the Thessalians who were venerable for their age, went and begged of the Thebans that they might have the honour of burying him. One of them expressed himself in these terms: "What we request of you, our good allies, will be an honour and consolation to us under this great misfortune. It is not the living Pelopidas, whom the Thessalians desire to attend; it is not to Pelopidas sensible of their gratitude, that they would now pay the due honours; all we ask is the permission to wash, to adorn, and inter his dead body, and if we obtain this favour, we shall believe you are persuaded that we think our share in the common calamity greater than yours. You have lost only a good general, but we are so unhappy as to be deprived both of him and of our liberty. For how shall we presume to ask you for another general, when we have not restored to you Pelopidas?"

The Thebans granted their request. And surely there never was a more magnificent funeral, at least in the opinion of those who do not place magnificence in ivory, gold, and purple; as Philistus did, who dwells in admiration upon the funeral of Dionysius, which, properly speaking, was nothing but the pompous catastrophe of that bloody tragedy, his tyranny. Alexander the Great, too, upon the death of Hephæstion, not only had the manes of the horses and mules shorn, but caused the battlements of the walls to be taken down, that the very cities might seem to mourn, by losing their ornaments, and having the appearance of being shorn and chastised with grief. These things being the effects of arbitrary orders, executed through necessity, and attended both with envy of those for whom they are done, and hatred of those who command them, are not proofs of esteem and respect, but of barbaric pomp, of luxury, and vanity, in those who lavish their wealth to such vain and despicable purposes. But that a man who was only one of the subjects of a republic, dying in a strange country, neither his wife, children, or kinsmen present, without the request or command of any one, should be attended home, conducted to the grave, and crowned by so many cities and tribes, might justly pass for an instance of the most perfect happiness. For the observation of *Æsop* is not true, that *Death is most unfortunate in the time of prosperity; on the contrary, it is then most happy, since it secures to good men the glory of their virtuous actions, and puts them above the power of fortune.* The compliment, therefore, of the Spartan was

much more rational, when, embracing Diagoras, after he and his sons and grandsons had all conquered and been crowned at the Olympic games, he said, *Die, die now, Diagoras, for thou canst not be a god.* And yet, I think, if a man should put all the victories in the Olympian and Pythian games together, he would not pretend to compare them with any one of the enterprises of Pelopidas, which were many and all successful; so that after he had flourished the greater part of his life in honour and renown, and had been appointed the thirteenth time governor of Boeotia, he died in a great exploit, the consequence of which was the destruction of the tyrant, and the restoring of its liberties to Thessaly.

His death, as it gave the allies great concern, so it brought them still greater advantages. For the Thebans were no sooner informed of it, than prompted by a desire of revenge, they sent upon that business seven thousand foot and seven hundred horse, under the command of Malcites and Diogiton. These finding Alexander weakened, with his late defeat, and reduced to great difficulties, compelled him to restore the cities he had taken from the Thessalians, to withdraw his garrisons from the territories of the Magnesians, the Phthiotæ, and Achæans, and to engage by oath to submit to the Thebans, and to keep the forces in readiness to execute their orders.

And here it is proper to relate the punishment which the gods inflicted upon him soon after for his treatment of Pelopidas. He, as we have already mentioned, first taught Thebe, the tyrant's wife, not to dread the exterior pomp and splendour of his palace, though she lived in the midst of guards, consisting of exiles from other countries. She, therefore, fearing his falsehood, and hating his cruelty, agreed with her three brothers, Tisiphonus, Pytholaus, and Lycophron, to take him off; and they put their design in execution after this manner. The whole palace was full of guards, who watched all the night, except the tyrant's bedchamber, which was an upper room, and the door of the apartment was guarded by a dog who was chained there, and who would fly at everybody except his master and mistress, and one slave that fed him. When the time fixed for the attempt was come, Thebe concealed her brothers, before it was dark, in a room hard by. She went in alone, as usual, to Alexander, who was already asleep, but presently came out again, and ordered the slave to take away the dog, because her husband chose to sleep without being disturbed: and that the stairs might not creak as the young men

came up, she covered them with wool. She then fetched up her brothers, and leaving them at the door with poniards in their hands, went into the chamber, and taking away the tyrant's sword, which hung at the head of his bed, showed it them as a proof that he was fast asleep. The young men now being struck with terror, and not daring to advance, she reproached them with cowardice, and swore in her rage, that she would awake Alexander, and tell him the whole. Shame and fear having brought them to themselves, she led them in and placed them about the bed, herself holding the light. One of them caught him by the feet, and another by the hair of his head, while the third stabbed him with his poniard. Such a death was, perhaps, too speedy for so abominable a monster; but if it be considered that he was the first tyrant who was assassinated by his own wife, and that his dead body was exposed to all kinds of indignities, and spurned and trodden under foot by his subjects, his punishment will appear to have been proportioned to his crimes.

TIMOLEON.



THE affairs of the Syracusans, before Timoleon was sent into Sicily, were in this posture: Dion, having driven out Dionysius, the tyrant, was soon assassinated; those that with him had been the means of delivering Syracuse were divided among themselves, and the city, which only changed one tyrant for another, was oppressed with so many miseries that it was almost desolate. As for the rest of Sicily the wars had made part of it quite a desert, and most of the towns that remained were held by a confused mixture of barbarians and soldiers, who, having no regular pay, were ready for every change of government.

Such being the state of things, Dionysius, in the tenth year after his expulsion, having got together a body of foreigners, drove out Nysæus, then master of Syracuse, restored his own affairs, and re-established himself in his dominions. Thus he who had been unaccountably stripped by a small body of men of the greatest power that any tyrant ever possessed, still more unaccountably, of a beggarly fugitive, became the master of those who had expelled him. All, therefore, who remained in Syracuse became slaves to a tyrant, who at the best was of an ungentle nature, and at that time exasperated by his misfortunes to a degree of savage ferocity. But the best and most considerable of the citizens having retired to Icetes, prince of the Leontines, put themselves under his protection, and chose him for their general. Not that he was better than the most avowed tyrants; but they had no other resource, and they were willing to repose some confidence in him, as being of a Syracusan family, and having an army able to encounter that of Dionysius.

In the meantime the Carthaginians, appearing before Sicily with a great fleet, and being likely to avail themselves of the disordered state of the island, the Sicilians, struck with terror, determined to send an embassy into Greece to beg assistance of the Corinthians, not only on account of their kindred to that

people,* and the many services they had received from them on former occasions, but because they knew that Corinth was always a patroness of liberty and an enemy to tyrants, and that she had engaged in many considerable wars, not from a motive of ambition or avarice, but to maintain the freedom and independence of Greece. Hereupon Icetes, whose intention in accepting the command was not so much to deliver Syracuse from its tyrants as to set up himself there in the same capacity, treated privately with the Carthaginians, while in public he commended the design of the Syracusans, and despatched ambassadors along with theirs into Peloponnesus. Not that he was desirous of succours from thence, but he hoped that if the Corinthians, on account of the troubles of Greece and their engagements at home, should, as it was likely enough, decline sending any, he might the more easily incline the balance to the side of the Carthaginians, and then make use of their alliance and their forces, either against the Syracusans or their present tyrant. That such were his views a little time discovered.

When the ambassadors arrived, and their business was known, the Corinthians, always accustomed to give particular attention to the concerns of the colonies, and especially those of Syracuse, since by good fortune they had nothing to molest them in their own country, readily passed a vote that the succours should be granted. The next thing to be considered was, who should be general; when the magistrates put in nomination such as had endeavoured to distinguish themselves in the state; but one of the plebeians stood up and proposed Timoleon, the son of Timodemus, who as yet had no share in the business of the commonwealth, and was so far from hoping or wishing for such an appointment, that it seemed some god inspired him with the thought; with such indulgence did fortune immediately promote his election, and so much did her favour afterwards signalize his actions and add lustre to his valour!

His parentage was noble on both sides, for both his father Timodemus, and his mother Demariste, were of the best families in Corinth. His love of his country was remarkable, and so was the mildness of his disposition, saving that he bore an extreme hatred to tyrants and wicked men. His natural abilities for war were so happily tempered, that as an extra-

* The Syracusans were a colony from Corinth, founded by Archias, the Corinthian, in the second year of the eleventh Olympiad, seven hundred and thirty-three years before the Christian era. Sicily had been planted with Phœnicians and other barbarous people, as the Grecians called them, above three hundred years before.

ordinary prudence was seen in the enterprises of his younger years, so an undaunted courage distinguished his declining age. He had an elder brother named Timophanes, who resembled him in nothing, being rash and indiscreet of himself, and utterly corrupted besides by the passion for sovereignty, infused into him by some of his profligate acquaintance, and certain foreign soldiers whom he had always about him. He appeared to be impetuous in war, and to court danger, which gave his countrymen such an opinion of his courage and activity that they frequently entrusted him with the command of the army. And in these matters Timoleon much assisted him by entirely concealing, or at least extenuating his faults, and magnifying the good qualities which nature had given him.

In a battle between the Corinthians and the troops of Argos and Cleone, Timoleon happened to serve among the infantry, when Timophanes, who was at the head of the cavalry, was brought into extreme danger, for his horse, being wounded, threw him amidst the enemy. Hereupon part of his companions were frightened, and presently dispersed, and the few that remained, having to fight with numbers, with difficulty stood their ground. Timoleon, seeing his brother in these circumstances, ran to his assistance, and covered him as he lay with his shield, and after having received abundance of darts, and many strokes of the sword upon his body and his armour, by great efforts repulsed the enemy and saved him.

Some time after this, the Corinthians, apprehensive that their city might be surprised through some treachery of their allies, as it had been before resolved to keep on foot four hundred mercenaries, gave the command of them to Timophanes. But he, having no regard to justice or honour, soon entered into measures to subject the city to himself, and having put to death a number of the principal inhabitants without form of trial, declared himself absolute prince of it. Timoleon, greatly concerned at this, and accounting the treacherous proceedings of his brother his own misfortune, went to expostulate with him, and endeavoured to persuade him to renounce this madness and unfortunate ambition, and to bethink himself how to make his fellow-citizens some amends for the crimes he had committed. But as he rejected his single admonition with disdain, he returned a few days after, taking with him a kinsman named Æschylus, and a certain soothsayer, a friend of his. These three, standing round him, earnestly entreated him yet to listen to reason and change his mind. Timophanes at first laughed

at them, and afterwards gave way to a violent passion, upon which Timoleon stepped aside, and stood weeping, with his face covered, while the other two drew their swords and despatched him in a moment.

The matter being soon generally known, the principal and most valuable part of the Corinthians extolled Timoleon's detestation of wickedness, and that greatness of soul, which, notwithstanding the gentleness of his heart and his affection to his relations, led him to prefer his country to his family, and justice and honour to interest and advantage. While his brother fought valiantly for his country, he had saved him; and slain him, when he had treacherously enslaved it. Those who knew not how to live in a democracy, and had been used to make their court to men in power, pretended indeed to rejoice at the tyrant's death; but at the same time reviling Timoleon, as guilty of a horrible and impious deed, they created him great uneasiness. When he heard how heavily his mother bore it, and that she uttered the most dreadful wishes and imprecations against him, he went to excuse it and to console her; but she could not endure the thought of seeing him, and ordered the doors to be shut against him. He then became entirely a prey to sorrow, and attempted to put an end to his life by abstaining from all manner of food. In these unhappy circumstances his friends did not abandon him. They even added force to their entreaties till they prevailed on him to live. He determined, however, to live in solitude; and accordingly he withdrew from all public affairs, and for some years did not so much as approach the city, but wandered about the most gloomy parts of his grounds, and gave himself up to melancholy.

Thus the judgment, if it borrows not from reason and philosophy sufficient strength and steadiness for action, is easily unsettled and depraved by any casual commendation or dispraise, and departs from its own purposes. For an action should not only be just and laudable in itself, but the principle from which it proceeds firm and immovable, in order that our conduct may have the sanction of our own approbation. Otherwise, upon the completion of any undertaking, we shall, through our own weakness, be filled with sorrow and remorse, and the splendid ideas of honour and virtue, that led us to perform it, will vanish; just as the glutton is soon cloyed and disgusted with the luscious viands which he had devoured with too keen an appetite. Repentance tarnishes the best actions; whereas the purposes that are grounded upon knowledge and reason

never change, though they may happen to be disappointed of success. Hence it was that Phocion of Athens, having vigorously opposed the proceedings of Leosthenes,* which, notwithstanding, turned out much more happily than he expected; when he saw the Athenians offering sacrifice, and elated with their victory, told them *he was glad of their success, but if it was to do over again, he should give the same counsel.* Still stronger was the answer which Aristides the Locrian, one of Plato's intimate friends, gave to Dionysius the elder, when he demanded one of his daughters in marriage, *I had rather see the virgin in her grave than in the palace of a tyrant.* And when Dionysius soon after put his son to death, and then insolently asked him, *What he now thought as to the disposal of his daughter?*—*I am sorry,* said he, *for what you have done; but I am not sorry for what I have said.* However, it is only a superior and highly accomplished virtue that can attain such heights as these.

As for Timoleon's extreme dejection in consequence of the late fact, whether it proceeded from regret of his brother's fate, or the reverence he bore his mother, it so shattered and impaired his spirits, that for almost twenty years he was concerned in no important or public affair.

When, therefore, he was pitched upon for general, and accepted as such by the suffrages of the people, Teleclides, a man of the greatest power and reputation in Corinth, exhorted him to behave well, and to exert a generous valour in the execution of his commission: *For,* said he, *if your conduct be good, we shall consider you as the destroyer of a tyrant; if bad, as the murderer of your brother.*

While Timoleon was assembling his forces, and preparing to set sail, the Corinthians received letters from Ictes, which plainly discovered his revolt and treachery. For his ambassadors were no sooner set out for Corinth, than he openly joined the Carthaginians, and acted in concert with them, in order to expel Dionysius from Syracuse, and usurp the tyranny himself. Fearing, moreover, lest he should lose his opportunity, by the speedy arrival of the army from Corinth, he wrote to the Corinthians to acquaint them, "That there was no occasion for them to put themselves to trouble and expence, or to expose themselves to the dangers of a voyage to Sicily; particularly as the Carthaginians would oppose them, and were watching for their ships with a numerous fleet; and that indeed, on

* See the Life of Phocion.

account of the slowness of their motions, he had been forced to engage those very Carthaginians to assist him against the tyrant."

If any of the Corinthians before were cold and indifferent as to the expedition, upon the reading of these letters they were one and all so incensed against Icetes, that they readily supplied Timoleon with whatever he wanted, and united their endeavours to expedite his sailing.

When the fleet was equipped, the priestesses of Proserpine had a dream, wherein that goddess and her mother Ceres appeared to them in a travelling garb, and told them, "That they intended to accompany Timoleon into Sicily." Hereupon the Corinthians equipped a sacred galley, which they called the *galley of the goddesses*. Timoleon himself went to Delphi, where he offered sacrifice to Apollo; and, upon his descending into the place where the oracles were delivered, was surprised with this wonderful occurrence: A wreath embroidered with crowns and images of victory slipped down from among the offerings that were hung up there, and fell upon Timoleon's head, so that Apollo seemed to send him out crowned upon that enterprise.

He had seven ships of Corinth, two of Coreyra, and a tenth fitted out by the Leucadians, with which he put to sea. It was in the night that he set sail, and with a prosperous gale he was making his way, when on a sudden the heavens seemed to be rent asunder, and to pour upon his ship a bright and spreading flame, which soon formed itself into a torch, such as is used in the sacred mysteries; and having conducted them through their whole course, brought them to that quarter of Italy for which they designed to steer. The soothsayers declared that this appearance perfectly agreed with the dream of the priestesses, and that by this light from heaven, the goddesses showed themselves interested in the success of the expedition. Particularly as Sicily was sacred to Proserpine; it being fabled that the island was bestowed on her as a nuptial gift.

The fleet, thus encouraged with tokens of the divine favour, very soon crossed the sea, and made the coast of Italy. But the news brought thither from Sicily much perplexed Timoleon, and disheartened his forces. For Icetes having beaten Dionysius in a set battle, and taken great part of Syracuse, had by a line of circumvallation shut up the tyrant in the citadel and that part of the city which is called *the island*, and besieged him there. At the same time he ordered the Carthaginians to take

care that Timoleon should not land in Sicily; hoping, when the Corinthians were driven off, without farther opposition, to share the island with his new allies. The Carthaginians, accordingly, sent away twenty of their galleys to Rhegium, in which were ambassadors from Ictes to Timoleon, charged with proposals quite as captious as his proceedings themselves; for they were nothing but specious and artful words, invented to give a colour to his treacherous designs. They were to make an offer, "That Timoleon might, if he thought proper, go and assist Ictes with his counsel, and share in his successes; but that he must send back his ships and troops to Corinth, since the war was almost finished, and the Carthaginians were determined to prevent their passage, and ready to repel force with force.

The Corinthians, then, as soon as they arrived at Rhegium, meeting with this embassy, and seeing the Carthaginians riding at anchor near them, were vexed at the insult; a general indignation was expressed against Ictes, and fear for the Sicilians, whom they plainly saw left as a prize, to reward Ictes for his treachery, and the Carthaginians for insisting in setting him up tyrant. And it seemed impossible for them to get the better, either of the barbarians, who were watching them with double the number of ships, or of the forces of Ictes, which they had expected would have joined them, and put themselves under their command.

Timoleon, on this occasion, coming to an interview with the ambassadors and the Carthaginian commanders, mildly said, "He would submit to their proposals," for what could he gain by opposing them? "but he was desirous that they would give them in publicly before the people of Rhegium, ere he quitted that place, since it was a Grecian city, and common friends to both parties. For that this tended to his security, and they themselves would stand more firmly to their engagements, if they took that people for witnesses to them."

This overture he made only to amuse them, intending all the while to steal a passage, and the magistrates of Rhegium entered heartily into his scheme; for they wished to see the affairs of Sicily in Corinthian hands, and dreaded the neighbourhood of the barbarians. They summoned, therefore, an assembly, and shut the gates, lest the citizens should go about any other business. Being convened, they made long speeches, one of them taking up the argument where another laid it down, with no other view than to gain time for the Corinthian galleys

to get under sail; and the Carthaginians were easily detained in the assembly, as having no suspicion, because Timoleon was present, and it was expected every moment that he would stand up and make his speech. But upon secret notice that the other galleys had put to sea, and his alone was left behind, by the help of the Rhegians, who pressed close to the *rostrum*, and concealed him among them, he slipped through the crowd, got down to the shore, and hoisted sail with all speed.

He soon arrived, with all his vessels, at Tauromenium in Sicily, to which he had been invited some time before, and where he was now kindly received, by Andromachus, lord of that city. This Andromachus was father to Timæus the historian; and being much the best of all the Sicilian princes of his time, he both governed his own people agreeably to the laws and principles of justice, and had ever avowed his aversion and enmity to tyrants. On this account he readily allowed Timoleon to make his city a place of arms, and persuaded his people to co-operate with the Corinthians with all their force, in restoring liberty to the whole island.

The Carthaginians at Rhegium, upon the breaking up of the assembly, seeing that Timoleon was gone, were vexed to find themselves outwitted; and it afforded no small diversion to the Rhegians, *that Phœnicians should complain of anything effected by guile.*

They despatched, however, one of their galleys with an ambassador to Tauromenium, who represented the affair at large to Andromachus, insisting with much insolence and barbaric pride, that he should immediately turn the Corinthians out of his town; and at last showing him his hand with the palm upwards, and then turning it down again, told him, if he did not comply with that condition, the Carthaginians *would overturn his city just as he had turned his hand.* Andromachus only smiled, and without making him any other answer, stretched out his hand, first with one side up, and then the other, and bade him *begone directly, if he did not choose to have his ship turned upside down in the same manner.*

Icetes hearing that Timoleon had made good his passage, was much alarmed, and sent for a great number of the Carthaginian galleys. The Syracusans then began to despair of a deliverance; for they saw the Carthaginians masters of their harbours, Icetes possessed of the city, and the citadel in the hands of Dionysius; while Timoleon held only by a small border of the skirts of Sicily, the little town of Tauromenium, with a feeble hope and

an inconsiderable force, having no more than a thousand men, and provisions barely sufficient for them. Nor had the Sicilian states any confidence in him, plunged as they were in misfortunes, and exasperated against all that pretended to lead armies to their succour, particularly on account of the perfidy of Callippus and Pharax. The one was an Athenian, and the other a Lacedæmonian, and both came with professions to do great things for the liberty of Sicily, and for demolishing the tyrants; yet the Sicilians soon found that the reign of former oppressors was comparatively a golden age, and reckoned those far more happy who died in servitude than such as lived to see so dismal a kind of freedom. Expecting, therefore, that this Corinthian deliverer would be no better than those before him, and that the deceitful hand of art would reach out to them the same bait of good hopes and fair promises, to draw them into subjection to a new master, they all, except the people of Adranum, suspected the designs of the Corinthians, and declined their proposals. Its inhabitants were at variance with each other; some calling in Ictes and the Carthaginians, and others applying to Timoleon. Both generals striving which should get there first, as fortune would have it, arrived about the same time. But Ictes had five thousand men with him, and Timoleon twelve hundred at the most, whom he drew out of Tauromenium, which was forty-two miles and a half from Adranum. The first day he made but a short march, and pitched his tents in good time. The next day he marched forward at a great pace, though the road was very rugged, and towards evening was informed that Ictes had just reached the town, and was encamping before it. At the same time his officers made the foremost division halt, to take some refreshment, that they might be the more vigorous in the ensuing engagement. This, however, was against the opinion of Timoleon, who entreated them to march forward as fast as possible, and to attack the enemy before they were put in order; it being probable, now they were just come off their march, that they were employed in pitching their tents and preparing their supper. He had no sooner given this order, than he took his buckler and put himself at the head of them, as leading them on to undoubted victory.

His men, thus encouraged, followed him very cheerfully, being now not quite thirty furlongs from Adranum. As soon as they came up, they fell upon the enemy, who were in great confusion, and ready to fly at their first approach. For this reason not

many more than three hundred were killed, but twice as many were made prisoners, and the camp was taken.

Upon this the people of Adranum opened their gates to Timoleon, and joined his party, declaring with terror and astonishment, that during the battle, the sacred doors of the temple opened of their own accord, the spear of their god was seen to shake to the very point, and his face dropped with sweat. These things did not foreshow that victory only, but the future successes to which this dispute was a fortunate prelude. For several cities, by their ambassadors, immediately joined in alliance with Timoleon; and Mamerous, sovereign of Catana, a warlike and wealthy prince, entered into the confederacy. But what was still more material, Dionysius himself having bid adieu to hope, and unable to hold out much longer, despising Iectes, who was so shamefully beaten, and admiring the bravery of Timoleon, offered to deliver up to him and the Corinthians both himself and the citadel.

Timoleon accepted of this good fortune so superior to his hopes, and sent Euclides and Telomachus, two Corinthian officers, into the citadel, as he did four hundred men besides, not altogether, nor openly, for that was impossible, because the enemy were upon their guard, but by stealth, and a few at a time. This corps then took possession of the citadel and the tyrant's moveables, with all that he had provided for carrying on the war, namely, a good number of horses, all manner of engines, and a vast quantity of darts. They found also arms for seventy thousand men which had been laid up of old, and two thousand soldiers with Dionysius, whom he delivered up along with the store to Timoleon. But the tyrant reserved his money to himself, and having got on board a ship, he sailed with a few of his friends, without being perceived by Iectes, and reached the camp of Timoleon.

Then it was that he first appeared in the humble figure of a private man, and, as such, he was sent with one ship and a very moderate sum of money to Corinth; he that was born in a splendid court, and educated as heir to the most absolute monarchy that ever existed. He held it for ten years;* and for twelve more, from the time that Dion took up arms against him, he was exercised continually in wars and troubles: insomuch that the mischiefs caused by his tyranny were abundantly recompensed upon his own head in what he suffered.

* For he began his reign in the first year of the hundred and third Olympiad, three hundred and sixty years before the Christian era

When Dionysius arrived at Corinth, there was hardly a man in Greece who was not desirous to see him and converse with him. Some hating the man, and rejoicing at his misfortunes, came for the pleasure of insulting him in his present distress; others, whose sentiments, with respect to him, were somewhat changed, and who were touched with compassion for his fate, plainly saw the influence of an invisible and divine power displayed in the affairs of feeble mortals. For neither nature nor art produced in those times anything so remarkable as that work of fortune, which showed the man who was lately sovereign of Sicily, now holding conversation in a butcher's shop at Corinth, or sitting whole days in a perfumer's; or drinking the diluted wine of taverns; or squabbling in the streets; or directing female musicians in their singing, and disputing with them seriously about the harmony of certain airs that were sung in the theatre.

Some were of opinion that he fell into these unworthy amusements as being naturally idle, effeminate, and dissolute; but others thought it was a stroke of policy, and that he rendered himself despicable to prevent his being feared by the Corinthians; contrary to his nature, affecting that meanness and stupidity, lest they should imagine the change of his circumstances sat heavy upon him, and that he aimed at establishing himself again.

Nevertheless, some sayings of his are on record, by which it should seem that he did not bear his present misfortunes in an abject manner. When he arrived at Leucas, which was a Corinthian colony as well as Syracuse, he said, "He found himself in a situation like that of young men who had been guilty of some misdemeanor. For as they converse cheerfully, notwithstanding, with their brothers, but are abashed at the thought of coming before their fathers, so he was ashamed of going to live in the mother city, and could pass his days much more to his satisfaction with them." Another time, when a certain stranger derided him, at Corinth, in a very rude and scornful manner, for having, in the meridian of his power, taken pleasure in the discourse of philosophers, and at last asked him, "What he had got by the wisdom of Plato?" "Do you think," said he, "that we have reaped no advantage from Plato, when we bear in this manner such a change of fortune?" Aristoxenus the musician, and some others, having inquired "What was the ground of his displeasure against Plato?" he answered, "That absolute power abounded with evils; but had this great infelicity

above all the rest, that among the numbers of those who call themselves the friends of an arbitrary prince, there is not one who will speak his mind to him freely; and that by such false friends he had been deprived of the friendship of Plato."

Some one who had a mind to be arch, and to make merry with Dionysius, shook his robe when he entered his apartment, as is usual when persons approach a tyrant and he returned the jest very well, bade him "Do the same when he went out, that he might not carry off some of the moveables."

Plato did not see Dionysius in Corinth, for he had now been dead some time. But Diogenes of Sinope, when he first met him, addressed him as follows: "How little dost thou deserve to live." Thus Dionysius answered, "It is kind in you to sympathize with me in my misfortunes." "Dost thou think, then," said Diogenes, "that I have any pity for thee, and that I am not rather vexed that such a slave as thou art, and so fit to grow old and die, like thy father, on a tyrant's uneasy throne, should, instead of that, live with us here in mirth and pleasure?" So that when I compare, with these words of the philosopher, the doleful expression of Philistus, in which he bewails the fate of the daughters of Leptines, "That from the great and splendid enjoyments of absolute power, they were reduced to a private and humble station," they appear to me the lamentations of a woman, who regrets her perfumes, her purple robes and golden trinkets. This account of the sayings of Dionysius seems to me neither foreign from biography, nor without its utility to such readers as are not in a hurry, or taken up with other concerns.

If the ill fortune of Dionysius appeared surprising, the success of Timoleon was no less wonderful. For within fifty days after his landing in Sicily, he was master of the citadel of Syracuse, and sent off Dionysius into Peloponnesus. The Corinthians, encouraged with these advantages, sent him a reinforcement of two thousand foot and two hundred horse. These got on their way as far as Thurium; but finding it impracticable to gain a passage from thence, because the sea was beset with a numerous fleet of Carthaginians, they were forced to stop there, and watch their opportunity. However, they employed their time in a very noble undertaking. For the Thurians, marching out of their city to war against the Brutians, left it in charge with these Corinthian strangers, who defended it with as much honour and integrity as if it had been their own.

Meantime, Icetes carried on the siege of the citadel with great vigour, and blocked it up so close that no provisions could be got in for the Corinthian garrison. He provided also two strangers to assassinate Timoleon, and sent them privately to Adranum. That general, who never kept any regular guards about him, lived then with the Adramites without any sort of precaution or suspicion, by reason of his confidence in their tutelary god. The assassins being informed that he was going to offer sacrifice, went into the temple with their poniards under their clothes, and mixing with those that stood round the altar, got nearer to him by little and little. They were just going to give each other the signal to begin, when somebody struck one of them on the head with his sword, and laid him at his feet. Neither he that struck the blow kept his station, nor the companion of the dead man; the former, with his sword in his hand, fled to the top of a high rock, and the latter laid hold on the altar, entreating Timoleon to spare his life, on condition that he discovered the whole matter. Accordingly pardon was promised him, and he confessed that he and the person who lay dead were sent on purpose to kill him.

Whilst he was making this confession, the other man was brought down from the rock, and loudly protested that he was guilty of no injustice, for he only took righteous vengeance on the wretch who had murdered his father in the city of Leontium. And, for the truth of this, he appealed to several that were there present, who all attested the same, and could not but admire the wonderful management of fortune, which, moving one thing by another, bringing together the most distant incidents, and combining those that have no manner of relation, but rather the greatest dissimilarity, makes such use of them, that the close of one process is always the beginning of another. The Corinthians rewarded the man with a present of ten *minæ*, because his hand had co-operated with the guardian genius of Timoleon, and he had reserved the satisfaction for his private wrongs to the time when fortune availed herself of it to save the general. This happy escape had effects beyond the present, for it inspired the Corinthians with high expectations of Timoleon, when they saw the Sicilians now reverence and guard him, as a man whose person was sacred, and who was come as minister of the gods, to avenge and deliver them.

When Icetes had failed in this attempt, and saw many of the Sicilians going over to Timoleon, he blamed himself for making

use of the Carthaginians in small numbers only, and availing himself of their assistance as it were by stealth, and as if he were ashamed of it, when they had such immense forces at hand. He sent, therefore, for Mago, their commander in chief, and his whole fleet; who, with terrible pomp, took possession of their harbour with a hundred and fifty ships, and landed an army of sixty thousand men, which encamped in the city of Syracuse; insomuch that every one imagined the inundation of barbarians, which had been announced and expected of old, was now come upon Sicily. For in the many wars which they had waged in that island, the Carthaginians had never before been able to take Syracuse, but Icetes then receiving them, and delivering up the city to them, the whole became a camp of barbarians.

The Corinthians, who still held the citadel, found themselves in very dangerous and difficult circumstances; for besides that they were in want of provisions, because the port was guarded and blocked up, they were employed in sharp and continual disputes about the walls, which were attacked with all manner of machines and batteries, and for the defence of which they were obliged to divide themselves. Timoleon, however, found means to relieve them, by sending a supply of corn from Catana in small fishing boats and little skiffs, which watched the opportunity to make their way through the enemy's fleet, when it happened to be separated by a storm. Mago and Icetes no sooner saw this than they resolved to make themselves masters of Catana, from which provisions were sent to the besieged; and taking with them the best of their troops, they sailed from Syracuse. Leo, the Corinthian, who commanded in the citadel, having observed, from the top of it, that those of the enemy who stayed behind abated their vigilance, and kept up an indifferent guard, suddenly fell upon them as they were dispersed; and killing some, and putting the rest to flight, gained the quarter called *Achradina*, which was much the strongest, and had suffered the least from the enemy; for Syracuse is an assemblage, as it were, of towns. Finding plenty of provisions and money there, he did not give up the acquisition, nor return into the citadel, but stood upon his defence in the *Achradina*, having fortified it quite round, and joined it by new works to the citadel. Mago and Icetes were now near Catana, when a horseman, despatched from Syracuse, brought them tidings that the *Achradina* was taken; which struck them with such surprise that they returned in a great

hurry, having neither taken the place which they went against, nor kept that which they had before.

Perhaps prudence and valour have as much right as fortune to lay claim to these successes; but the event that next ensued is wholly to be ascribed to the favour of fortune. The corps of Corinthians that had arrived at Thurium, dreading the Carthaginian fleet, which, under the command of Hanno, observed their motions, and finding at the same time that the sea for many days was stormy and tempestuous, determined to march through the country of the Brutians and partly by persuasion, partly by force, they made good their passage through the territories of the barbarians, and came down to Rhegium, the sea still continuing rough as before.

The Carthaginian admiral, not expecting the Corinthians would venture out, thought it was in vain to sit still; and having persuaded himself that he had invented one of the finest stratagems in the world, ordered the mariners to crown themselves with garlands, and to dress up the galleys with Grecian and Phœnician bucklers, and thus equipped, he sailed to Syracuse. When he came near the citadel, he hailed it with loud huzzas and expressions of triumph, declaring that he was just come from beating the Corinthian succours, whom he had met with at sea, as they were endeavouring at a passage. By this means he hoped to strike terror into the besieged. While he was acting this part, the Corinthians got down to Rhegium, and as the coast was clear, and the wind, falling as it were miraculously, promised smooth water and a safe voyage, they immediately went on board such barks and fishing boats as they could find, and passed over into Sicily with so much safety and in such a dead calm, that they even drew the horses by the reins, swimming by the side of the vessels.

When they were all landed and had joined Timoleon, he soon took Messina;* and from thence he marched in good order to Syracuse, depending more upon his good fortune than his forces, for he had not above four thousand men with him. On the first news of his approach, Mago was greatly perplexed and alarmed, and his suspicions were increased on the following occasions. The marshes about Syracuse, which receive a great deal of fresh water from the springs, and from the lakes and rivers that discharge themselves there into the sea, have such abundance of eels, that there is always plenty for those that choose to fish for them. The common soldiers of both sides

* Now Messina.

amused themselves promiscuously with that sport, at their vacant hours, and upon any cessation of arms. As they were all Greeks and had no pretence for any private animosity against each other, they fought boldly when they met in battle, and in time of truce they mixed together and conversed familiarly. Busied at one of these times in their common diversions of fishing, they fell into discourse, and expressed their admiration of the convenience of the sea and the situation of the adjacent places. Whereupon, one of the Corinthian soldiers thus addressed those that served under Icetes: "And can you who are Greeks readily consent to reduce this city, so spacious in itself, and blessed with so many advantages, into the power of the barbarians, and to bring the Carthaginians, the most deceitful and cruel of them all, into our neighbourhood; when you ought to wish that between them and Greece there were many Sicilies; or can you think that they have brought an armed force from the Pillars of Hercules and the Atlantic Ocean, and braved the hazards of war, purely to erect a principality for Icetes; who, if he had had the prudence which becomes a general, would never have driven out his founders, to call into his country the worst of his enemies, when he might have obtained of the Corinthians and Timoleon any proper degree of honour and power?"

The soldiers that were in pay with Icetes, repeating their discourses often in their camp, gave Mago, who had long wanted a pretence to be gone, room to suspect that he was betrayed. And though Icetes entreated him to stay, and remonstrated upon their great superiority to the enemy, yet he weighed anchor and sailed back to Africa, shamefully and unaccountably suffering Sicily to slip out of his hands.

Next day, Timoleon drew up his army in order of battle before the place, but when he and his Corinthians were told that Mago was fled, and saw the harbour empty, they could not forbear laughing at his cowardice; and by way of mockery they caused proclamation to be made about the city, promising a reward to any one that could give information where the Carthaginian fleet was gone to hide itself. Icetes, however, had still the spirit to stand a farther shock, and would not let go his hold, but vigorously defended those quarters of the city which he occupied, and which appeared almost impregnable. Timoleon, therefore, divided his forces into three parts; and himself with one of them made his attack by the river of Anapus, where he was likely to meet with the warmest recep-

tion, commanding the second, which was under Isias the Corinthian, to begin their operations from the *Achradina*, while Dinarchus and Demaretus, who brought the last reinforcement from Corinth, should attempt the *Epipole*: so that several impressions being made at the same time and on every side, the soldiers of Ictes were overpowered and put to flight.

Now that the city was taken by assault, and suddenly reduced, upon the flight of the enemy, we may justly impute to the bravery of the troops and the ability of their general; but that not one Corinthian was either killed or wounded, the fortune of Timoleon claims entirely to herself, willing as she seems to maintain a dispute with his valour, and those who read his story may rather admire his happy success, than the merit of his actions. The fame of this great achievement soon overspread not only Sicily and Italy, but in a few days it resounded through Greece: so that the city of Corinth, which was in some doubt whether its fleet was arrived in Sicily, was informed by the same messengers that its forces had made good their passage and were victorious. So well did their affairs prosper, and so much lustre did fortune add to the gallantry of their exploits, by the speediness of their execution.

Timoleon, thus master of the citadel, did not proceed like Dion, or spare the place for its beauty and magnificence; but guarding against the suspicions which first slandered and then destroyed that great man, he ordered the public crier to give notice, "That all the Syracusans who were willing to have a hand in the work, should come with proper instruments to destroy the bulwarks of tyranny." Hereupon they came one and all, considering that proclamation and that day as the surest commencement of their liberty; and they not only demolished the citadel, but levelled with the ground both the palaces and the monuments of the tyrants. Having soon cleared the place, he built a common hall there for the seat of judicature, at once to gratify the citizens, and to show that a popular government should be erected on the ruins of tyranny.

The city thus taken was found comparatively destitute of inhabitants. Many had been slain in the wars and intestine broils, and many more had fled from the rage of the tyrants. Nay, so little frequented was the market-place of Syracuse, that it produced grass enough for the horses to pasture upon, and for the grooms to repose themselves by them. The other cities, except a very few, were entire deserts, full of deer and wild boars, and such as had leisure for it often hunted them in

the suburbs and about the walls; while none of those that had possessed themselves of castles and strongholds could be persuaded to quit them, or come down into the city, for they looked with hatred and horror upon the tribunals and other seats of government, as so many nurseries of tyrants. Timoleon and the Syracusans, therefore, thought proper to write to the Corinthians, to send them a good number from Greece to people Syracuse, because the land must otherwise lie uncultivated, and because they expected a more formidable war from Africa, being informed that Mago had killed himself, and that the Carthaginians, provoked at his bad conduct in the expedition, had crucified his body, and were collecting great forces for the invasion of Sicily the ensuing summer.

These letters of Timoleon being delivered, the Syracusan ambassadors attended at the same time, and begged of the Corinthians to take their city into their protection, and to become founders of it anew. They did not, however, hastily seize that advantage, or appropriate the city to themselves, but first sent to the sacred games and the other great assemblies of Greece, and caused proclamation to be made by their heralds, "That the Corinthians having abolished arbitrary power in Syracuse, and expelled the tyrant, invited all Syracusans and other Sicilians to people that city, where they should enjoy their liberties and privileges, and have the lands divided by equal lots among them." Then they sent envoys into Asia and the islands, where they were told the greatest part of the fugitives were dispersed, to exhort them all to come to Corinth, where they should be provided with vessels, commanders, and a convoy at the expense of the Corinthians, to conduct them safe to Syracuse. Their intentions thus published, the Corinthians enjoyed the justest praise and the most distinguished glory, having delivered a Grecian city from tyrants, saved it from the barbarians, and restored the citizens to their country. But the persons who met on this occasion at Corinth, not being a sufficient number, desired that they might take others along with them from Corinth and the rest of Greece, as new colonists; by which means having made up their number full ten thousand, they sailed to Syracuse. By this time great multitudes from Italy and Sicily had flocked in to Timoleon; who, finding their number, as Athanis reports, amount to sixty thousand, freely divided the lands among them, but sold the houses for a thousand talents. By this contrivance he both left it in the power of the ancient inhabitants to redeem their own, and took

occasion also to raise a stock for the community, who had been so poor in all respects, and so little able to furnish the supplies for the war, that they had sold the very statues, after having formed a judicial process against each, and passed sentence upon them, as if they had been so many criminals. On this occasion, we are told, they spared one statue, when all the rest were condemned, namely, that of Gelon, one of their ancient kings, in honour of the man, and for the sake of the victory* which he gained over the Carthaginians at Himera.

Syracuse being thus revived, and replenished with such a number of inhabitants who flocked to it from all quarters, Timoleon was desirous to bestow the blessing of liberty on the other cities also, and once for all to extirpate arbitrary government out of Sicily. For this purpose, marching into the territories of the petty tyrants, he compelled Ictes to quit the interests of Carthage, to agree to demolish his castles, and to live among the Leontines as a private person. Leptines, also, prince of Apollonia and several other little towns, finding himself in danger of being taken, surrendered, and had his life granted him, but was sent to Corinth: for Timoleon looked upon it as a glorious thing, that the tyrants of Sicily should be forced to live as exiles in the city which had colonized that island, and should be seen by the Greeks in such an abject condition.

After this, he returned to Syracuse to settle the civil government, and to establish the most important and necessary laws, along with Cephalus and Dinarchus, lawgivers sent from Corinth. In the meanwhile, willing that the mercenaries should reap some advantage from the enemy's country, and be kept from inaction, he sent Dinarchus and Demaretus into the Carthaginian province. These drew several cities from the Punic interest, and not only lived in abundance themselves, but also raised money, from the plunder, for carrying on the war. While these matters were transacting, the Carthaginians arrived at Lilybæum, with seventy thousand land forces, two hundred galleys, and a thousand other vessels, which carried machines of war, chariots, vast quantities of provisions, and all other stores; as if they were now determined not to carry on the war by piecemeal, but to drive the Greeks entirely out of Sicily. For their force was sufficient to effect this, even if the Sicilians had been united, and much more so, harassed as they

* He defeated Hamilcar, who landed in Sicily, with three hundred thousand men, in the second year of the seventy-fifth Olympiad.

were with mutual animosities. When the Carthaginians, therefore, found that the Sicilian territories were laid waste, they marched, under the command of Asdrubal and Hamilcar, in great fury, against the Corinthians.

Information of this being brought directly to Syracuse, the inhabitants were struck with such terror by that prodigious armament, that scarce three thousand, out of ten times that number, took up arms and ventured to follow Timoleon. The mercenaries were in number four thousand, and of them about a thousand gave way to their fears, when upon their march, and turned back, crying out, "That Timoleon must be mad or in his dotage, to go against an army of seventy thousand men, with only five thousand foot and a thousand horse, and to draw his handful of men, too, eight days' march from Syracuse; by which means there could be no refuge for those that fled, nor burial for those that fell in battle."

Timoleon considered it as an advantage, that these cowards discovered themselves before the engagement; and having encouraged the rest, he led them hastily to the banks of the Crimesus, where he was told the Carthaginians were drawn together. But as he was ascending a hill, at the top of which the enemy's camp, and all their vast forces, would be in sight, he met some mules loaded with parsley; and his men took it into their heads that it was a bad omen, because we usually crown the sepulchres with parsley, and thence the proverb with respect to one that is dangerously ill, *Such a one has need of nothing but parsley*. To deliver them from this superstition and to remove the *panic*, Timoleon ordered the troops to halt, and making a speech suitable to the occasion, observed among other things, "That crowns were brought them before the victory, and offered themselves of their own accord." For the Corinthians from all antiquity having looked upon a wreath of parsley as sacred, crowned the victors with it at the Isthmean games. The general having addressed his army as we have said, took a chaplet of parsley, and crowned himself with it first, and then his officers and the common soldiers did the same. At that instant the soothsayers observing two eagles flying towards them, one of which bore a serpent which he had pierced through with his talons, while the other advanced with a loud and animating noise, pointed them out to the army, who all betook themselves to prayer and invocation of the gods.

The summer was now begun, and the end of the month

Thargelion brought on the solstice; the river then sending up a thick mist, the field was covered with it at first, so that nothing in the enemy's camp was discernible, only an inarticulate and confused noise, which reached the summit of the hill, showed that a great army lay at some distance. But when the Corinthians had reached the top, and laid down their shields to take breath, the sun had raised the vapours higher, so that the fog being collected upon the summits, covered *them* only, while the places below were all visible. The river *Crimesus* appeared clearly, and the enemy were seen crossing it, first with chariots drawn by four horses, and formidably provided for the combat; behind which there marched ten thousand men with white bucklers. These they conjectured to be Carthaginians, by the brightness of their armour, and the slowness and good order in which they moved. They were followed by the troops of other nations, who advanced in a confused and tumultuous manner.

Timoleon observing that the river put it in his power to engage with what number of the enemy he pleased, bade his men take notice how the main body was divided by the stream, part having already got over and part preparing to pass it; and ordered Demarectus with the cavalry to attack the Carthaginians and put them in confusion, before they had time to range themselves in order of battle. Then he himself descending into the plain with the infantry, formed the wings out of other Sicilians, intermingling a few strangers with them; but the natives of Syracuse and the most warlike of the mercenaries he placed about himself in the centre, and stopped a while to see the success of the horse. When he saw that they could not come up to grapple with the Carthaginians, by reason of the chariots that ran to and fro before their army, and that they were obliged often to wheel about to avoid the danger of having their ranks broken, and then to rally again and return to the charge, sometimes here, sometimes there, he took his buckler and called to the foot to follow him, and be of good courage, with an accent that seemed more than human, so much was it above his usual pitch. His troops answering him with a loud shout, and pressing him to lead them on without delay, he sent orders to the cavalry to get beyond the line of chariots, and take the enemy in flank, while himself thickening his first ranks, so as to join buckler to buckler, and causing the trumpet to sound, bore down upon the Carthaginians. They sustained the first shock with great spirit; for being fortified with breast-plates of iron and helmets of brass, and covering themselves

with large shields, they could easily repel the spears and javelins. But when the business came to a decision by the sword, where art is no less requisite than strength, all of a sudden there broke out dreadful thunders from the mountains, mingled with long trails of lightning; after which the black clouds descending from the top of the hills, fell upon the two armies in a storm of wind, rain, and hail. The tempest was on the backs of the Greeks, but beat upon the faces of the barbarians, and almost blinded them with the stormy showers and the fire continually streaming from the clouds.

These things very much distressed the barbarians, particularly such of them as were not veterans. The greatest inconvenience seems to have been the roaring of the thunder, and the clattering of the rain and hail upon their arms, which hindered them from hearing the orders of their officers. Besides, the Carthaginians, not being light but heavy armed, the dirt was troublesome to them; and as the bosoms of their tunics were filled with water they were very unwieldy in the combat, so that the Greeks could overturn them with ease, and when they were down it was impossible for them, encumbered as they were with arms, to get out of the mire. For the river Cremesus, swollen partly with the rains and partly having its course stopped by the vast numbers that crossed it, had overflowed its banks. The adjacent field, having many cavities and low places in it, was filled with water, which settled there, and the Carthaginians falling into them could not disengage themselves without extreme difficulty. In short, the storm continuing to beat upon them with great violence, and the Greeks having cut to pieces four hundred men who composed their first ranks, their whole body was put to flight. Great numbers were overtaken in the field, and put to the sword; many took the river, and jostling with those that were yet passing it were carried down and drowned. The major part, who endeavoured to gain the hills, were stopped by the light-armed soldiers and slain. Among the ten thousand that were killed, it is said there were three thousand natives of Carthage—a heavy loss to that city—for none of its citizens were superior to these, either in birth, fortune, or character. Nor have we any account that so many Carthaginians ever fell before in one battle; but as they mostly made use of Libyans, Spaniards, and Numidians in their wars, if they lost a victory it was at the expense of the blood of strangers.

The Greeks discovered by the spoils the quality of the killed.

Those that stripped the dead set no value upon brass or iron, such was the abundance of silver and gold; for they passed the river and made themselves masters of the camp and baggage. Many of the prisoners were clandestinely sold by the soldiers, but five thousand were delivered in upon the public account, and two hundred chariots also were taken. The tent of Timoleon afforded the most beautiful and magnificent spectacle. In it were piled all manner of spoils, among which a thousand breast-plates of exquisite workmanship, and ten thousand bucklers, were exposed to view. As there was but a small number to collect the spoils of such a multitude, and they found such immense riches, it was the third day after the battle before they could erect the trophy. With the first news of the victory Timoleon sent to Corinth the handsomest of the arms he had taken, desirous that the world might admire and emulate his native city when they saw the fairest temples adorned, not with Grecian spoils, nor with the unpleasing monuments of kindred blood and domestic ruin, but with the spoils of barbarians, which bore this honourable inscription, declaring the justice as well as valour of the conquerors, "That the people of Corinth, and Timoleon, their general, having delivered the Greeks who dwelt in Sicily from the Carthaginian yoke, made this offering as a grateful acknowledgment to the gods."

After this, Timoleon left the mercenaries to lay waste the Carthaginian province, and returned to Syracuse. By an edict published there he banished from Sicily the thousand hired soldiers who deserted him before the battle, and obliged them to quit Syracuse before the sunset. These wretches passed over into Italy, where they were treacherously slain by the Brutians. Such was the vengeance which heaven took of their perfidiousness.

Nevertheless, Mamercus, Prince of Catana, and Ictes, either moved with envy at the success of Timoleon, or dreading him as an implacable enemy, who thought no faith was to be kept with tyrants, entered into league with the Carthaginians, and desired them to send a new army and general, if they were not willing to lose Sicily entirely. Hereupon, Giseco came with a fleet of seventy ships, and a body of Greeks, whom he had taken into pay. The Carthaginians had not employed any Greeks before, but now they considered them as the bravest and most invincible of men.

On this occasion the inhabitants of Messina, rising with one consent, slew four hundred of the foreign soldiers, whom Timo-

leon had sent to their assistance; and within the dependencies of Carthage the mercenaries, commanded by Euthymus, the Leucadian, were cut off by an ambush at a place called Hieræ. Hence the good fortune of Timoleon became still more famous, for these were some of the men who, with Philodemus of Phocis and Onomarchus, had broken into the temple of Apollo at Delphi, and were partakers with them in the sacrilege. Shunned as execrable on this account, they wandered about Peloponnesus, where Timoleon, being in great want of men, took them into pay. When they came into Sicily they were victorious in all the battles where he commanded in person; but after the great struggles of the war were over, being sent upon service where succours were required, they perished by little and little. Herein avenging justice seems to have been willing to make use of the prosperity of Timoleon as an apology for its delay, taking care, as it did, that no harm might happen to the good from the punishment of the wicked; inasmuch that the favour of the gods, to that great man, was no less discerned and admired in his very losses than in his greatest success.

Upon any of these little advantages the tyrants took occasion to ridicule the Syracusans, at which they were highly incensed. Mamercus, for instance, who valued himself on his poems and tragedies, talked in a pompous manner of the victory he had gained over the mercenaries, and ordered this insolent inscription to be put upon the shields which he dedicated to the gods,

These shields, with gold and ivory gay,
To our plain bucklers lost the day.

Afterwards, when Timoleon was laying siege to Calauria, Ictes took the opportunity to make an inroad into the territories of Syracuse, where he met with considerable booty; and having made great havoc, he marched back by Calauria itself, in contempt of Timoleon and the slender force he had with him. Timoleon suffered him to pass, and then followed him with his cavalry and light-armed foot. When Ictes saw he was pursued he crossed the Damyrus, and stood in a posture to receive the enemy on the other side. What emboldened him to do this was the difficulty of the passage, and the steepness of the banks on both sides. But a strange dispute of jealousy and honour, which arose among the officers of Timoleon, awhile delayed the combat, for there was not one that was willing to go after another, but every man wanted to be foremost in the attack, so that their fording was likely to be very tumultuous and dis-

orderly by their justling each other, and pressing to get before. To remedy this, Timoleon ordered them to decide the matter by lot, and that each for this purpose should give him his ring. He took the rings and shook them in the skirt of his robe, and the first that came up, happening to have a trophy for the seal, the young officers received it with joy, and crying out that they would not wait for any other lot, made their way as fast as possible through the river, and fell upon the enemy, who, unable to sustain the shock, soon took to flight, throwing away their arms, and leaving a thousand of their men dead upon the spot.

A few days after this, Timoleon marched into the territory of the Leontines, where he took Icetes alive; and his son Eu polemus, and Euthymus, his general of horse, were brought to him bound by the soldiers. Icetes and his son were capitally punished, as tyrants and traitors to their country. Nor did Euthymus find mercy, though remarkably brave and bold in action, because he was accused of a severe sarcasm against the Corinthians. He had said, it seems, in a speech he made to the Leontines, upon the Corinthians taking the field, "That it was no formidable matter, if the Corinthian dames were gone out to take the air." Thus the generality of men are more apt to resent a contemptuous word than an unjust action, and can bear any other injury better than disgrace. Every hostile deed is imputed to the necessity of war, but satirical and censorious expressions are considered as the effects of hatred or malignity.

When Timoleon was returned, the Syracusans brought the wife and daughters of Icetes to a public trial, who, being there condemned to die, were executed accordingly. This seems to be the most exceptionable part of Timoleon's conduct: for, if he had interposed, the women would not have suffered.

Timoleon then marched to Catana against Mamercus, who waited for him in order of battle upon the banks of the Abolus. Mamercus was defeated and put to flight, with the loss of above two thousand men, no small part of which consisted of the Punic succours sent by Gisco. Hereupon the Cathaginians desired him to grant them peace, which he did on the following conditions: "That they should hold only the lands within the Lycus, that they should permit all who desired it to remove out of their province, with their families and goods, and to settle at Syracuse, and that they should renounce all friendship and alliance with the tyrants." Mamercus, reduced by this treaty to despair, set sail for Italy, with an intent to bring the

Lucanians against Timoleon and the Syracusans. But, instead of that, the crews tacking about with the galleys, and returning to Sicily, delivered up Catana to Timoleon; which obliged Mamercus to take refuge at Messana, with Hippo, prince of that city. Timoleon coming upon them, and investing the place both by sea and land, Hippo got on board a ship, and attempted to make his escape, but was taken by the Messenians themselves, who exposed him in the theatre; and calling their children out of the schools, as to the finest spectacle in the world, the punishment of a tyrant, they first scourged him, and then put him to death.

Upon this, Mamercus surrendered himself to Timoleon, agreeing to take his trial at Syracuse, on condition that Timoleon himself would not be his accuser. Being conducted to Syracuse, and brought before the people, he attempted to pronounce an oration which he had composed long before for such an occasion; but being received with noise and clamour, he perceived that the assembly were determined to show him no favour. He, therefore, threw off his upper garment, ran through the theatre, and dashed his head violently against one of the steps, with a design to kill himself; but did not succeed according to his wish, for he was taken up alive, and suffered the punishment of thieves and robbers.

In this manner did Timoleon extirpate tyranny, and put a period to their wars. He found the whole island turned almost wild and savage with its misfortunes, so that its very inhabitants could hardly endure it, and yet he so civilised it again, and rendered it so desirable, that strangers came to settle in the country, from which its own people had lately fled; the great cities of Agrigentum and Gela, which after the Athenian war had been sacked and left desolate by the Carthaginians, were now peopled again. Timoleon not only assured them of his protection, and of peaceful days to settle in, after the tempests of such a war, but cordially entered into their necessities, and supplied them with everything, so that he was even beloved by them as if he had been their founder. Nay, to that degree did he enjoy the affections of the Sicilians in general, that no war seemed concluded, no laws enacted, no lands divided, no political regulation made, in a proper manner, except it was revised and touched by him: he was the master-builder who put the last hand to the work, and bestowed upon it a happy elegance and perfection. Though at that time Greece boasted a number of great men, whose achievements

were highly distinguished, Timotheus (for instance), Agesilaus, Pelopidas, and Epaminondas, the last of whom Timoleon principally vied with in the course of glory; yet we may discern in their actions a certain labour and straining, which diminishes their lustre, and some of them have afforded room for censure, and been followed with repentance; whereas there is not one action of Timoleon (if we except the extremities he proceeded to in the case of his brother) to which we may not, with Timæus, apply that passage of Sophocles,

—What VENUS, or what LOVE,
Placed the fair parts in this harmonious whole.

For, as the poetry of Antimachus,* and the portraits of Dionysius,† both of them Colophonians, with all the nerve and strength one finds in them, appear to be too much laboured, and smell too much of the lamp; whereas the paintings of Nicomachus‡ and the verses of Homer, besides their other excellences and graces, seem to have been struck off with readiness and ease: so if we compare the exploits of Epaminondas and Agesilaus, performed with infinite pains and difficulty, with those of Timoleon, which, glorious as they were, had a great deal of freedom and ease in them, when we consider the case well, we shall conclude the latter, not to have been the work of fortune indeed, but the effects of fortunate virtue.

He himself, it is true, ascribed all his successes to fortune. For when he wrote to his friends at Corinth, or addressed the Syracusans, he often said, he was highly indebted to that goddess, when she was resolved to save Sicily, for doing it under his name. In his house he built a chapel, and offered sacrifices to *Chance*, and dedicated the house itself to *Fortune*; for the Syracusans had given him one of the best houses in the city, as a reward for his services, and provided him, besides, a very elegant and agreeable retreat in the country. In the country it was that he spent most of his time, with his wife and children, whom he had sent for from Corinth: for he never returned home; he took no part in the troubles of Greece, nor exposed himself to public envy, the rock which great generals commonly split upon in their insatiable pursuits of honour and power; but he remained in Sicily, enjoying the blessings he

* Antimachus was an epic poet, who flourished in the days of Socrates and Plato

† Dionysius was a portrait painter *Plin xxxv. 10*

‡ Pliny tells us "Nicomachus painted with a swift as well as a masterly hand; and that his pieces sold for as much as a town was worth."

had established; and of which the greatest of all was, to see so many cities and so many thousands of people happy through his means.

But since, according to the comparison of Simonides, every republic must have some impudent slanderer, just as every lark must have a crest on its head, so it was at Syracuse; for Timoleon was attacked by two demagogues, Laphystius and Demanetus. The first of these having demanded of him sureties that he would answer to an indictment which was to be brought against him, the people began to rise declaring they would not suffer him to proceed. But Timoleon stilled the tumult, by representing, "That he had voluntarily undergone so many labours and dangers, on purpose that the meanest Syracusan might have recourse, when he pleased, to the laws." And when Demanetus, in full assembly, alleged many articles against his behaviour in command, he did not vouchsafe him any answer; he only said, "He could not sufficiently express his gratitude to the gods, for granting his request, in permitting him to see all the Syracusans enjoy the liberty of saying what they thought fit."

Having then confessedly performed greater things than any Grecian of his time, and been the only man that realized those glorious achievements, to which the orators of Greece were constantly exhorting their countrymen in the general assemblies of the states, fortune happily placed him at a distance from the calamities in which the mother-country was involved, and kept his hands unstained with its blood. He made his courage and conduct appear in his dealings with the barbarians and with tyrants, as well as his justice and moderation wherever the Greeks or their friends were concerned. Very few of his trophies cost his fellow-citizens a tear, or put any of them in mourning; and yet, in less than eight years, he delivered Sicily from its intestine miseries and distempers, and restored it to the native inhabitants.

After so much prosperity, when he was well advanced in years, his eyes began to fail him, and the defect increased so fast, that he entirely lost his sight. Not that he had done anything to occasion it, nor was it to be imputed to the caprice of fortune, but it seems to have been owing to a family weakness and disorder, which operated together with the course of time.

It is not to be wondered, that he bore his misfortune without repining; but it was really admirable to observe the honour and respect which the Syracusans paid him when blind.

They not only visited him constantly themselves, but brought all strangers who spent some time amongst them to his house in the town, or to that in the country, that they too might have the pleasure of seeing the deliverer of Syracuse. And it was their joy and their pride that he chose to spend his days with them, and despised the splendid reception which Greece was prepared to give him, on account of his great success. Among the many votes that were passed, and things that were done in honour of him, one of the most striking was that decree of the people of Syracuse, "That whenever they should be at war with a foreign nation, they would employ a Corinthian general." Their method of proceeding, too, in their assemblies, did honour to Timoleon. For they decided smaller matters by themselves, but consulted him in the more difficult and important cases. On these occasions he was conveyed in a litter through the market-place to the theatre; and when he was carried in, the people saluted him with one voice, as he sat. He returned the civility; and having paused a while to give time for their acclamations, took cognisance of the affair, and delivered his opinion. The assembly gave their sanction to it, and then his servants carried the litter back through the theatre; and the people, having waited on him out with loud applauses, despatched the rest of the public business without him.

With so much respect and kindness was the old age of Timoleon cherished, as that of a common father! and at last he died of a slight illness co-operating with length of years.* Some time being given the Syracusans to prepare for his funeral, and for the neighbouring inhabitants and strangers to assemble, the whole was conducted with great magnificence. The bier, sumptuously adorned, was carried by young men, selected by the people, over the ground where the palace and castle of the tyrants stood, before they were demolished. It was followed by many thousands of men and women, in the most pompous solemnity, crowned with garlands and clothed in white. The lamentations and tears, mingled with the praises of the deceased, showed that the honour now paid him was not a matter of course, or compliance with a duty enjoined, but the testimony of real sorrow and sincere affection. At last the bier being placed upon the funeral pile, Demetrius, who had the loudest voice of all their heralds, was directed to make

* He died the last year of the hundred and tenth Olympiad, three hundred and thirty-five years before the Christian æra.

proclamation as follows: "The people of Syracuse inter Timoleon the Corinthian, the son of Timodemus, at the expense of two hundred *minæ*; they honour him, moreover, through all time with annual games, to be celebrated with performances in music, horse-racing, and wrestling; as the man who destroyed tyrants, subdued barbarians, re-peopled great cities which lay desolate, and restored to the Sicilians their laws and privileges."

The body was interred, and a monument erected for him in the market-place, which they afterwards surrounded with porticos and other buildings suitable to the purpose, and then made it a place of exercise for their youth, under the name of *Timoleonteum*. They continued to make use of the form of government and the laws that he established, and this insured their happiness for a long course of years.

DEMOSTHENES.



HOWEVER it was, my Sossius, that wrote the encomium upon Alcibiades for his victory in the chariot-race at the Olympic games; whether Euripides (which is the common opinion,) or some other, he asserts, that "The first requisite to happiness is, that a man be born in a famous city" But, as to real happiness, which consists principally in the disposition and habit of the mind, for my part, I think it would make no difference, though a man should be born in an inconsiderable town, or of a mother who had no advantages either of size or beauty; for it is ridiculous to suppose that Julis, a small town in the isle of Ceos, which is itself not great, and Ægina, which an Athenian "wanted to have taken away, as an eyesore to the Pyræus," should give birth to good poets and players,* and not be able to produce a man who might attain the virtues of justice, of contentment, and of magnanimity. Indeed, those arts, which are to gain the master of them considerable profit or honour, may probably not flourish in mean and insignificant towns. But virtue, like a strong and hardy plant, will take root in any place where it can find an ingenuous nature and a mind that has no aversion to labour and discipline. Therefore, if our sentiments or conduct fall short of the point they ought to reach, we must not impute it to the obscurity of the place where we were born, but to our little selves.

These reflections, however, extend not to an author who would write a history of events which happened in a foreign country, and cannot be come at in his own. As he has materials to collect from a variety of books dispersed in different libraries, his first care should be to take up his residence in some populous town which has an ambition for literature. There he will meet with many curious and valuable books; and the particulars that are wanting in writers, he may, upon inquiry, be supplied with by those who have laid them up in the faithful repository of memory. This will prevent his work

* The poet Simonides was of Ceos; and Polus the actor was of Ægina.

from being defective in any material point. As to myself, I live in a little town, and I choose to live there, lest it should become still less. When I was in Rome, and other parts of Italy, I had not leisure to study the Latin tongue, on account of the public commissions with which I was charged, and the number of people that came to be instructed by me in philosophy. It was not, therefore, till a late period in life, that I began to read the Roman authors. The process may seem strange; and yet it is very true. I did not so much gain the knowledge of things by the words, as words by the knowledge I had of things. I shall only add, that, to attain such a skill in the language as to be master of the beauty and fluency of its expressions, with its figures, its harmony, and all the other graces of its structure, would indeed be an elegant and agreeable accomplishment. But the practice and pains it requires are more than I have time for, and I must leave the ambition to excel in that walk to younger men.

Demosthenes, the father of Demosthenes, was one of the principal citizens of Athens. Theopompus tells us he was called the *sword-cutter*, because he employed a great number of slaves in that business. As to what Æschines the orator relates concerning his mother, that she was the daughter of one Gylon, who was forced to fly for treason against the commonwealth, and of a barbarian woman, we cannot take upon us to say whether it was dictated by truth, or by falsehood and malignity. He had a large fortune left him by his father, who died when he was only seven years of age; the whole being estimated at little less than fifteen talents. But he was greatly wronged by his guardians, who converted part to their own use, and suffered part to lie neglected. Nay, they were vile enough to defraud his tutors of their salaries. This was the chief reason that he had not those advantages of education to which his quality entitled him. His mother did not chuse that he should be put to hard and laborious exercises, on account of the weakness and delicacy of his frame; and his preceptors, being ill paid, did not press him to attend them. Indeed, from the first, he was of a slender and sickly habit, insomuch that the boys are said to have given him the contemptuous name of *Batalus* for his natural defects. Some say, Batalus was an effeminate musician, whom Antiphanes ridiculed in one of his farces; others, that he was a poet whose verses were of the most wanton and licentious kind. We are told, that Demosthenes had likewise the name of *Argas*, either

on account of the savage and morose turn of his behaviour; for there is a sort of a serpent which some of the poets call *Argus*; or else for the severity of his expressions, which often gave his hearers pain; for there was a poet named *Argas*, whose verses were very keen and satirical.

His ambition to speak in public is said to have taken its rise on this occasion. The orator Callistratus was to plead in the cause which the city of Oropus had depending; and the expectation of the public was greatly raised both by the powers of the orator, which were then in the highest repute, and by the importance of the trial. Demosthenes hearing the governors and tutors agree among themselves to attend the trial, with much importunity prevailed on his master to take him to hear the pleadings. The master having some acquaintance with the officers who opened the court, got his young pupil a seat where he could hear the orators without being seen. Callistratus had great success, and his abilities were extremely admired. Demosthenes was fired with a spirit of emulation. When he saw with what distinction the orator was conducted home, and complimented by the people, he was struck still more with the power of that commanding eloquence which could carry all before it. From this time, therefore, he bade adieu to the other studies and exercises in which boys are engaged, and applied himself with great assiduity to declaiming, in hopes of being one day numbered among the orators. Isæus was the man he made use of as his preceptor in eloquence, though Isocrates then taught it; whether it was that the loss of his father incapacitated him to pay the sum of ten *mine*, which was that rhetorician's usual price, or whether he preferred the keen and subtle manner of Isæus as more fit for public use.

Hermippus says he met with an account in certain anonymous memoirs that Demosthenes likewise studied under Plato,* and received great assistance from him in preparing to speak in public. He adds, that Ctesibius used to say, that Demosthenes was privately supplied by Callias the Syracusan, and some others, with the systems of rhetoric taught by Isocrates and Alcidas, and made his advantage of them.

When his minority was expired, he called his guardians to account at law, and wrote orations against them. As they found many methods of chicane and delay, he had great opportunity, as Thucydides says, to exercise his talent for the bar. It was not without much pains and some risk that he

* This is confirmed by Cicero in his *Brutus*.

gained his cause; and, at last, it was but a very small part of his patrimony that he could recover. By this means, however, he acquired a proper assurance and some experience; and having tasted the honour and power that go in the train of eloquence, he attempted to speak in the public debates, and take a share in the administration. As it is said of Laomedon the Orchomenian, that, by the advice of his physicians, in some disorder of the spleen, he applied himself to running, and continued it constantly a great length of way, till he had gained such excellent health and breath, that he tried for the crown at the public games, and distinguished himself in the long course: so it happened to Demosthenes, that he first appeared at the bar for the recovery of his own fortune, which had been so much embezzled; and having acquired in that cause a persuasive and powerful manner of speaking, he contested the crown, as I may call it, with the other orators before the general assembly.

However, in his first address to the people, he was laughed at and interrupted by their clamours; for the violence of his manner threw him into a confusion of periods, and a distortion of his argument. Besides, he had a weakness and a stammering in his voice, and a want of breath, which caused such a distraction in his discourse, that it was difficult for the audience to understand him. At last, upon his quitting the assembly, Eunomus the Thriasian, a man now extremely old, found him wandering in a dejected condition in the Piræus, and took upon him to set him right. "You," said he, "have a manner of speaking very like that of Pericles; and yet you lose yourself out of mere timidity and cowardice. You neither bear up against the tumults of a popular assembly, nor prepare your body by exercise for the labour of the rostrum, but suffer your parts to wither away in negligence and indolence."

Another time, we are told, when his speeches had been ill received, and he was going home with his head covered, and in the greatest distress, Satyrus the player, who was an acquaintance of his, followed, and went in with him. Demosthenes lamented to him, "That, though he was the most laborious of all the orators, and had almost sacrificed his health to that application, yet he could gain no favour with the people; but drunken seamen and other unlettered persons were heard, and kept the rostrum, while he was entirely disregarded." "You say true," answered Satyrus; "but I will soon provide a remedy, if you will repeat to me some speech in Euripides or Sophocles."

When Demosthenes had done, Satyrus pronounced the same speech; and he did it with such propriety of action, and so much in character, that it appeared to the orator quite a different passage. He now understood so well how much grace and dignity action adds to the best oration, that he thought it a small matter to premeditate and compose, though with the utmost care, if the pronunciation and propriety of gesture were not attended to. Upon this he built himself a subterraneous study, which remained to our times. Thither he repaired every day to form his action and exercise his voice; and he would often stay there for two or three months together, shaving one side of his head, that, if he should happen to be ever so desirous of going abroad, the shame of appearing in that condition might keep him in.

When he did go out upon a visit, or received one, he would take something that passed in conversation, some business or fact that was reported to him, for a subject to exercise himself upon. As soon as he had parted from his friends, he went to his study, where he repeated the matter in order as it passed, together with the arguments for and against it. The substance of the speeches which he heard he committed to memory, and afterwards reduced them to regular sentences and periods,* meditating a variety of corrections and new forms of expression, both for what others had said to him, and he had addressed to them. Hence it was concluded that he was not a man of much genius; and that all his eloquence was the effect of labour. A strong proof of this seemed to be, that he was seldom heard to speak anything extempore, and though the people often called upon him by name, as he sat in the assembly, to speak to the point debated, he would not do it unless he came prepared. For this many of the orators ridiculed him; and Pytheas, in particular, told him, "That all his arguments smelled of the lamp." Demosthenes retorted sharply upon him, "Yes, indeed, but your lamp and mine, my friend, are not conscious of the same labours." To others he did not pretend to deny his previous application, but told them, "He neither wrote the whole of his orations, nor spoke without first committing part to writing." He further affirmed, "That this showed him a good member of a democratic state; for the coming prepared to the rostrum was a mark of respect for the people. Whereas, to be regardless of what the people might think of a man's address,

* Cicero did the same, as we find in his epistles to Atticus. These arguments he calls *Theses politice*.

showed an inclination for oligarchy, and that he had rather gain his point by force than by persuasion." Another proof they give us of his want of confidence on any sudden occasion, is, that when he happened to be put into disorder by the tumultuary behaviour of the people, Demades often rose up to support him in an extempore address, but he never did the same for Demades.

Wherefore, then, it may be said, did Æschines call him an orator of the most admirable assurance? How could he stand up alone and refute Python the Byzantian,* whose eloquence poured against the Athenians like a torrent? And when Lamachus the Myrrhenian pronounced at the Olympic games an encomium which he had written upon Philip and Alexander, and in which he had asserted many severe and reproachful things against the Thebans and Olynthians, how could Demosthenes rise up and prove, by a ready deduction of facts, the many benefits for which Greece was indebted to the Thebans and Chalcidians, and the many evils that the flatterers of the Macedonians had brought upon their country? This, too, wrought such a change in the minds of the great audience, that the sophist, his antagonist, apprehending a tumult, stole out of the assembly.

Upon the whole, it appears that Demosthenes did not take Pericles entirely for his model. He only adopted his action and delivery, and his prudent resolution not to make a practice of speaking from a sudden impulse, or on any occasion that might present itself; being persuaded, that it was to that conduct he owed his greatness. Yet, while he chose not often to trust the success of his powers to fortune, he did not absolutely neglect the reputation which may be acquired by speaking on a sudden occasion. And, if we believe Eratosthenes, Demetrius the Phalerean, and the comic poets, there was a greater spirit and boldness in his unpremeditated orations than in those he had committed to writing. Eratosthenes says that, in his extemporaneous harangues, he often spoke as from a supernatural

* This was one of the most glorious circumstances in the life of Demosthenes. The fate of his country, in a great measure, depended on his eloquence. After Platae was lost, and Philip threatened to march against Athens, the Athenians applied for succours to the Boeotians. When the league was established, and the troops assembled at Chalcidæa, Philip sent ambassadors to the council of Boeotia, the chief of whom was Python, one of the ablest orators of his time. When he had inveighed with all the powers of eloquence against the Athenians and their cause, Demosthenes answered him, and carried the point in their favour.

impulse; and Demetrius tells us, that, in an address to the people, like a man inspired, he once uttered this oath in verse,

By earth, by all her fountains, streams, and floods!

One of the comic writers calls him *Rhopoperperethras*,* and another, ridiculing his frequent use of the antithesis, says, "As he took, so he retook." For Demosthenes affected to use that expression. Possibly, Antiphanes played upon that passage in the oration concerning the isle of Halonesus, in which Demosthenes advised the Athenians, "not to take, but to retake it from Philip."

It was agreed, however, on all hands, that Demades excelled all the orators when he trusted to nature only; and that his sudden effusions were superior to the laboured speeches of Demosthenes. Aristo of Chios gives us the following account of the opinion of Theophrastus concerning these orators. Being asked in what light he looked upon Demosthenes as an orator, he said, "I think him worthy of Athens;" what of Demades, "I think him above it." The same philosopher relates of Polycuctus the Sphettian, who was one of the principal persons in the Athenian administration at that time, that he called "Demosthenes the greatest orator, and Phocion the most powerful speaker;" because the latter comprised a great deal of sense in a few words.

As for his personal defects, Demetrius the Phalerean gives us an account of the remedies he applied to them; and he says he had it from Demosthenes in his old age. The hesitation and stammering of his tongue he corrected by practising to speak with pebbles in his mouth; and he strengthened his voice by running or walking up-hill, and pronouncing some passage in an oration or a poem, during the difficulty of breath which that caused. He had, moreover, a looking-glass in his house, before which he used to declaim and adjust all his motions.

It is said that a man came to him one day, and desired him to be his advocate against a person from whom he had suffered by assault. "Not you, indeed," said Demosthenes, "you have suffered no such thing." "What!" said the man, raising his voice, "have I not received those blows?" "Ay, now," said Demosthenes, "you do speak like a person that has been injured." So much, in his opinion, do the tone of voice and the action contribute to gain the speaker credit in what he affirms.

* A huberdasher of small wares, or something like it.

His action pleased the commonalty much; but people of taste (among whom was Demetrius the Phalerean) thought there was something in it low, inelegant, and unmanly. Hermippus acquaints us, that *Æsion* being asked his opinion of the ancient orators and those of that time, said, "Whoever has heard the orators of former times must admire the decorum and dignity with which they spoke. Yet when we read the orations of Demosthenes, we must allow they have more art in the composition and greater force." It is needless to mention, that, in his written orations, there was something extremely cutting and severe; but, in his sudden repartees, there was also something of humour. When a rascal, surnamed *Chalcus*,* attempted to jest upon his late studies and long watchings, he said, "I know my lamp offends thee. But you need not wonder, my countryman, that we have so many robberies, when we have thieves of brass, and walls only of clay."

He tells us himself, that he entered upon public business in the time of the Phocian war,† and the same may be collected from his *Philippics*. For some of the last of them were delivered after that war was finished; and the former relate to the immediate transactions of it. It appears also, that he was two and thirty years old when he was preparing his oration against *Midias*; and yet, at that time, he had attained no name or power in the administration. This, indeed, seems to be the reason of his dropping the prosecution for a sum of money. For,

—— no prayer, no moving art
 E'er bent that fierce, inexorable heart.—*Pope*.

He was vindictive in his nature, and implacable in his resentments. He saw it a difficult thing, and out of the reach of his interest, to pull down a man so well supported on all sides as *Midias*, by wealth and friends; and therefore he listened to the application in his behalf. Had he seen any hopes or possibility of crushing his enemy, I cannot think that three thousand *drachmas* could have disarmed his anger.

He had a glorious subject for his political ambition, to defend the cause of Greece against Philip. He defended it like a champion worthy of such a charge, and soon gained great reputation both for eloquence and for the bold truths which he

* That is *Brass*

† In the one hundred and sixth Olympiad, five hundred and thirty-three years before the Christian era. Demosthenes was then in his twenty-seventh year.

spoke. He was admired in Greece, and courted by the king of Persia. Nay, Philip himself had a much higher opinion of him than the other orators; and his enemies acknowledged that they had to contend with a great man. For Æschines and Hyperides, in their very accusations, give him such a character.

I wonder, therefore, how Theopompus could say that he was a man of no steadiness, who was never long pleased either with the same persons or things. For, on the contrary, it appears that he abode by the party and the measures which he first adopted; and was so far from quitting them during his life, that he forfeited his life rather than he would forsake them. Demades, to excuse the inconsistency of his public character, used to say, "I may have asserted things contrary to my former sentiments, but not anything contrary to the true interest of the commonwealth." Melanopus, who was of the opposite party to Callistratus, often suffered himself to be bought off, and then said, by way of apology, to the people, "It is true, the man is my enemy, but the public good is an overruling consideration." And Nicodemus the Messenian, who first appeared strong in the interest of Cassander, and afterwards in that of Demetrius, said, "He did not contradict himself, for it was always the best way to listen to the strongest." But we have nothing of that kind to allege against Demosthenes. He was never a time-server either in his words or actions. The key of politics which he first touched, he kept to without variation.

Panætius, the philosopher, asserts, that most of his orations are written upon this principle, that virtue is to be chosen for her own sake only; that, for instance, *of the crown*, that *against Aristocrates*, that *for the immunities*, and the *Philippics*. In all these orations, he does not exhort his countrymen to that which is most agreeable, or easy, or advantageous; but points out honour and propriety as the first objects, and leaves the safety of the state as a matter of inferior consideration. So that, if, besides that noble ambition which animated his measures, and the generous turn of his addresses to the people, he had been blessed with the courage that war demands, and had kept his hands clean of bribes, he would not have been numbered with such orators as Mirocles, Polyeuctus, and Hyperides, but have deserved to be placed in a higher sphere with Cimon, Thucydides, and Pericles.

Among those who took the reins of government after him, Phocion, though not of the party in most esteem, (I mean that which seemed to favour the Macedonians), yet on account of

his probity and valour, did not appear at all inferior to Ephialtes, Aristides, and Cimon. But Demosthenes had neither the courage that could be trusted in the field, nor was he (as Demetrius expresses it) sufficiently fortified against the impressions of money. Though he bore up against the assaults of corruption from Philip and the Macedonians, yet he was taken by the gold of Susa and Ecbatana. So that he was much better qualified to recommend than to imitate the virtues of our ancestors. It must be acknowledged, however, that he excelled all the orators of his time, except Phocion, in his life and conversation. And we find in his orations, that he told the people the boldest truths, that he opposed their inclinations, and corrected their errors with the greatest spirit and freedom. Theopompus also acquaints us that, when the Athenians were for having him manager of a certain impeachment, and insisted upon it in a tumultuary manner, he would not comply, but rose up and said, "My friends, I will be your counsellor whether you will or no; but a false accuser I will not be, how much soever you may wish it." His behaviour in the case of Antipho was of the aristocratic cast.* The people had acquitted him in the general assembly; and yet he carried him before the *Areopagus*; where, without regarding the offence it might give the people, he proved that he had promised Philip to burn the arsenal; upon which he was condemned by the council, and put to death. He likewise accused the priestess Theoris of several misdemeanours; and, among the rest, of her teaching the slaves many arts of imposition. Such crimes, he insisted, were capital; and she was delivered over to the executioner.

Demosthenes is said to have written the oration for Apollodorus, by which he carried his cause against the general Timotheus, in an action of debt to the public treasury; as also those others against Phormio and Stephanus; which was a just exception against his character. For he composed the oration which Phormio had pronounced against Apollodorus. Thus, therefore, was like furnishing two enemies with weapons out of the same shop to fight one another. He wrote some public orations for others before he had any concern in the administration himself, namely, those against Androtion, Timocrates, and Aristocrates. For it appears that he was only twenty-seven or twenty-eight years of age when he published those orations. That against Aristogiton, and that for the *immunities* he

* See his oration *de Corona*.

delivered himself at the request, as he says, of Ctesippus the son of Chabrias; though others tell us, it was because he paid his addresses to the young man's mother. He did not, however, marry her, for his wife was a woman of Samos, as Demetrius the Magnesian informs us, in his account of persons of the same name. It is uncertain whether that against Æschines, *for betraying his trust as Ambassador*, was ever spoken; though Idomeneus affirms that Æschines was acquitted only by thirty votes. This seems not to be true, at least so far as may be conjectured from both their orations *concerning the crown*. For neither of them expressly mentions it as a cause that ever came to trial. But this is a point which we shall leave for others to decide.

Demosthenes, through the whole course of his political conduct, left none of the actions of the king of Macedon undisparaged. Even in time of peace, he laid hold on every opportunity to raise suspicions against him among the Athenians, and to excite their resentment. Hence Philip looked upon him as a person of the greatest importance in Athens; and when he went with nine other deputies to the court of that prince, after having given them all audience, he answered the speech of Demosthenes with greater care than the rest. As to other marks of honour and respect, Demosthenes had not an equal share in them; they were bestowed principally upon Æschines and Philocrates. They, therefore, were large in the praise of Philip on all occasions; and they insisted, in particular, on his eloquence, his beauty, and even his being able to drink a great quantity of liquor. Demosthenes, who could not bear to hear him praised, turned these things off as trifles. "The first," he said, "was the property of a sophist, the second of a woman, and the third of a sponge; and not one of them could do any credit to a king."

Afterwards, it appeared that nothing was to be expected but war; for, on the one hand, Philip knew not how to sit down in tranquillity; and, on the other, Demosthenes inflamed the Athenians. In this case, the first step the orator took was to put the people upon sending an armament to Eubœa, which was brought under the yoke of Philip by its petty tyrants. Accordingly he drew up an edict, in pursuance of which they passed over to that peninsula, and drove out the Macedonians. His second operation was the sending succours to the Byzantians and Perinthians, with whom Philip was at war

He persuaded the people to drop their resentment, to forget the faults which both those nations had committed in the confederate war, and to send a body of troops to their assistance. They did so, and it saved them from ruin. After this, he went ambassador to the states of Greece; and, by his animating address, brought them almost all to join in the league against Philip. Besides the troops of the several cities, they took an army of mercenaries, to the number of fifteen thousand foot and two thousand horse into pay, and readily contributed to the charge. Theophrastus tells us, that when the allies desired their contributions might be settled, Crobylus the orator answered, "That war could not be brought to any set diet."

The eyes of all Greece were now upon these movements; and all were solicitous for the event. The cities of Eubœa, the Achæans, the Corinthians, the Megarensians, the Leucadians, the Corcyræans, had each severally engaged for themselves against the Macedonians. Yet the greatest work remained for Demosthenes to do; which was to bring the Thebans over to the league. Their country bordered upon Attica; they had a great army on foot, and were then reckoned the best soldiers in Greece. But they had recent obligations to Philip in the Phocian war, and therefore it was not easy to draw them from him; especially when they considered the frequent quarrels and acts of hostility in which their vicinity to Athens engaged them.

Meantime Philip, elated with his success at Amphissa, surprised Elatea, and possessed himself of Phocis. The Athenians were struck with astonishment, and not one of them durst mount the *rostrum*: no one knew what advice to give; but a melancholy silence reigned in the city. In this distress Demosthenes alone stood forth, and proposed, that application should be made to the Thebans. He likewise animated the people in his usual manner, and inspired them with fresh hopes; in consequence of which he was sent ambassador to Thebes, some others being joined in commission with him. Philip, too, on his part, as Maryas informs us, sent Amyntus and Clearchus, two Macedonians, Douchus the Thessalian, and Thrasidas the Elean, to answer the Athenian deputies. The Thebans were not ignorant what way their true interest pointed; but each of them had the evils of war before his eyes; for their Phocian wounds were still fresh upon them. However, the powers of the orator, as Theopompus tells us, rekindled their courage and

ambition so effectually that all other objects were disregarded. They lost sight of fear, of caution, of every prior attachment, and through the force of his eloquence, fell with enthusiastic transports into the path of honour.

So powerful, indeed, were the efforts of the orator, that Philip immediately sent ambassadors to Athens to apply for peace. Greece recovered her spirits, whilst she stood waiting for the event; and not only the Athenian generals, but the governors of Boeotia, were ready to execute the commands of Demosthenes. All the assemblies, those of Thebes as well as those of Athens, were under his direction; he was equally beloved, equally powerful, in both places; and as Theopompus shows, it was no more than his merit claimed. But the superior power of fortune, which seems to have been working a revolution, and drawing the liberties of Greece to a period at that time, opposed and baffled all the measures that could be taken. The deity discovered many tokens of the approaching event. Among the rest, the priestess of Apollo delivered dreadful oracles; and an old prophecy from the Sybilline books was then much repeated:

Far from Thermodon's banks, when, stain'd with blood,
Boeotia trembles o'er the crimson flood,
On eagle pinions let me pierce the sky,
And see the vanquish'd weep, the victor die!

This Thermodon, they say, is a small river in our country near Chæroneæ, which falls into the Cephissus. At present we know no river of that name; but we conjecture that the Hæmon, which runs by the temple of Hercules, where the Greeks encamped, might then be called Thermodon; and the battle having filled it with blood and the bodies of the slain, it might, on that account, change its appellation. Durius, indeed, says, that Thermodon was not a river, but that some of the soldiers, as they were pitching their tents, and opening the trenches, found a small statue, with an inscription, which signified, that the person represented was Thermodon holding a wounded Amazon in his arms. He adds, that there was another oracle on the subject, much taken notice of at that time:

————— Full bud of prey,
Wait thou the plenteous harvest which the sword
Will give thee on Thermodon.

But it is hard to say what truth there is in these accounts.

As to Demosthenes, he is said to have had such confidence

in the Grecian arms, and to have been so much elated with the courage and spirit of so many brave men calling for the enemy, that he would not suffer them to regard any oracles or prophecies. He told them, that he suspected the prophetess herself of *Philippizing*. He put the Thebans in mind of Epaminondas, and the Athenians of Pericles, how they reckoned such things as mere pretexts of cowardice, and pursued the plan which their reason had dictated. Thus far Demosthenes acquitted himself like a man of spirit and honour. But in the battle, he performed nothing worthy of the glorious things he had spoken. He quitted his post; he threw away his arms; he fled in the most infamous manner, and was not ashamed, as Pytheas says, to bely the inscription, which he had put upon his shield in golden characters, TO GOOD FORTUNE.

Immediately after the victory, Philip, in the elation of his heart, committed a thousand excesses. He drank to intoxication, and danced over the dead, making a kind of song of the first part of the decree which Demosthenes had procured, and beating time to it—*Demosthenes the Peanean; son of Demosthenes, has decreed*. But when he came to be sober again, and considered the dangers with which he had lately been surrounded, he trembled to think of the prodigious force and power of that orator, who had obliged him to put both empire and life on the cast of a day, on a few hours of that day.

The fame of Demosthenes reached the Persian court; and the king wrote letters to his lieutenants, commanding them to supply him with money, and to attend to him more than to any other man in Greece; because he best knew how to make a diversion in his favour, by raising fresh troubles, and finding employment for the Macedonian arms nearer home. This Alexander afterwards discovered by the letters of Demosthenes which he found at Sardis; and the papers of the Persian governors expressing the sums which had been given him.

When the Greeks had lost this great battle, those of the contrary faction attacked Demosthenes, and brought a variety of public accusations against him. The people, however, not only acquitted him, but treated him with the same respect as before, and called him to the helm again, as a person whom they knew to be a well-wisher to his country. So that, when the bones of those who fell at Chæronea were brought home to be interred, they pitched upon Demosthenes to make the funeral oration. They were, therefore, so far from bearing their misfortune in a mean and ungenerous manner, as Theopompus, in

a tragical strain, represents it; that by the great honour they did the counsellor, they showed they did not repent of having followed his advice.

Demosthenes accordingly made the oration. But, after this, he did not prefix his own name to his edicts, because he considered fortune as inauspicious to him; but sometimes that of one friend, sometimes that of another, till he recovered his spirits upon the death of Philip, for that prince did not long survive his victory at Chæronea, and his fate seemed to be presignified in the verse :

And see the vanquish'd weep, the victor die !

Demosthenes had secret intelligence of the death of Philip; and in order to prepossess the people with hopes of some good success to come, he entered the assembly with a gay countenance, pretending he had seen a vision which announced something great for Athens. Soon after, messengers came with an account of Philip's death. The Athenians immediately offered sacrifices of acknowledgement to the gods for so happy an event, and voted a crown for Pausanias, who killed him. Demosthenes, on this occasion, made his appearance in magnificent attire, and with a garland on his head, though it was only the seventh day after his daughter's death, as Æschines tells us, who, on that account, reproaches him as an unnatural father. But he must himself have been of an ungenerous and effeminate disposition, if he considered tears and lamentations as marks of a kind and affectionate parent, and condemned the man who bore such a loss with moderation.

At the same time, I do not pretend to say the Athenians were right in crowning themselves with flowers, or in sacrificing, upon the death of a prince who had behaved to them with so much gentleness and humanity in their misfortunes; for it was a meanness, below contempt, to honour him in his life, and admit him a citizen; and yet, after he was fallen by the hands of another, not to keep their joy within any bounds, but to insult the dead, and sing triumphal songs, as if they had performed some extraordinary act of valour.

I commend Demosthenes, indeed, for leaving the tears and other instances of mourning, which his domestic misfortunes might claim, to the women, and going about such actions as he thought conducive to the welfare of his country; for I think a man of such firmness and other abilities as a statesman ought to have, should always have the common concern in view, and look upon his private accidents or business as considerations

much inferior to the public. In consequence of which, he will be much more careful to maintain his dignity than actors who personate kings and tyrants; and yet these, we see, neither laugh nor weep according to the dictates of their own passions, but as they are directed by the subject of the drama. It is universally acknowledged that we are not to abandon the unhappy to their sorrows, but to endeavour to console them by rational discourse, or by turning their attention to more agreeable objects; in the same manner as we desire those who have weak eyes to turn them from bright and dazzling colours, to green, or others of a softer kind. And what better consolation can there be under domestic afflictions, than to attemper and alleviate them with the public success; so that, by such a mixture, the bad may be corrected by the good. These reflections we thought proper to make, because we have observed that this discourse of Æschines has weakened the minds of many persons, and put them upon indulging all the offensiveness of sorrow.

Demosthenes now solicited the states of Greece again, and they entered once more into the league. The Thebans, being furnished with arms by Demosthenes, attacked the garrison in their citadel, and killed great numbers; and the Athenians prepared to join them in the war. Demosthenes mounted the *rostrum* almost every day; and he wrote to the king of Persia's lieutenants in Asia, to invite them to commence hostilities from that quarter against Alexander, whom he called a *boy*, a second *Maugates*.*

But when Alexander had settled the affairs of his own country, and marched into Bœotia with all his forces, the pride of the Athenians was humbled, and the spirit of Demosthenes died away. They deserted the Thebans; and that unhappy people had to stand the whole fury of the war by themselves; in consequence of which they lost their city. The Athenians were in great trouble and confusion; and they could think of no better measure than the sending Demosthenes, and some others, ambassadors to Alexander. But Demosthenes, dreading the anger of that monarch, turned back at Mount Cithæron, and relinquished his commission. Alexander immediately sent deputies to Athens, who (according to Idomeneus and Duris) demanded that they would deliver up ten of their orators. But the greatest part, and those the most

* Homer wrote a satire against this Maugates, who appears to have been a very contemptible character.

reputable of the historians, say, that he demanded only these eight, Demosthenes, Polyeuctus, Ephialtes, Lycurgus, Myrocles, Damon, Calisthenes, and Charidemus. On this occasion, Demosthenes addressed the people in the fable of the sheep, who were to give up their dogs to the wolves, before they would grant them peace; by which he insinuated, that he and the other orators were the guards of the people, as the dogs were of the flocks; and that Alexander was the great wolf they had to treat with. And again, "As we see merchants carrying about a small sample in a dish, by which they sell large quantities of wheat; so you, in us, without knowing it, deliver up the whole body of citizens." These particulars we have from Aristobulus of Cassandria.

The Athenians deliberated upon the point in full assembly; and Demades seeing them in great perplexity, offered to go alone to the king of Macedon, and intercede for the orators, on condition that each of them would give him five talents; whether it was that he depended upon the friendship that prince had for him, or whether he hoped to find him, like a lion, satiated with blood, he succeeded, however, in his application for the orators, and reconciled Alexander to the city.

When Alexander returned to Macedon, the reputation of Demades, and the other orators of his party, greatly increased; and that of Demosthenes gradually declined. It is true, he raised his head a little when Agis, king of Sparta took the field; but it soon fell again; for the Athenians refused to join him. Agis was killed in battle, and the Lacedæmonians entirely routed.

About this time,* the affair *concerning the crown*, came again upon the carpet. The information was first laid under the archonship of Chæronidas; and the cause was not determined till ten years after,† under Aristophon. It was the most celebrated cause that ever was pleaded, as well on account of the reputation of the orators, as the generous behaviour of the judges; for, though the prosecutors of Demosthenes were then in great power, as being entirely in the Macedonian interest, the judges would not give their voices against him; but, on

* Demosthenes rebuilt the walls of Athens at his own expense, for which the people, at the motion of Ctesiphon, decreed him a crown of gold. This excited the envy and jealousy of Æschines, who thereupon brought that famous impeachment against Demosthenes, which occasioned his inimitable oration *de Corona*.

† Plutarch must be mistaken here. It does not appear, upon the exactest calculation, to have been more than eight years.

the contrary, acquitted him so honourably that Æschines had not a fifth part of the suffrages. Æschines immediately quitted Athens, and spent the rest of his days in teaching rhetoric at Rhodes and in Ionia.

It was not long after this that Harpalus came from Asia to Athens.* He had fled from the service of Alexander, both because he was conscious to himself of having falsified his trust, to minister to his pleasures, and because he dreaded his master, who now was become terrible to his best friends. As he applied to the people of Athens for shelter, and desired protection for his ships and treasures, most of the orators had an eye upon the gold, and supported his application with all their interest. Demosthenes at first advised them to order Harpalus off immediately, and to be particularly careful not to involve the city in war again, without any just or necessary cause.

Yet a few days after, when they were taking an account of the treasure, Harpalus perceiving that Demosthenes was much pleased with one of the king's cups, and stood admiring the workmanship and fashion, desired him to take it in his hand, and feel the weight of the gold. Demosthenes being surprised at the weight, and asking Harpalus how much it might bring, he smiled, and said, "It will bring you twenty talents." And as soon as it was night, he sent him the cup with that sum. For Harpalus knew well enough how to distinguish a man's passion for gold, by his pleasure at the sight and the keen looks he cast upon it. Demosthenes could not resist the temptation; it made all the impression upon him that was expected; he received the money, like a garrison, into his house, and went over to the interest of Harpalus. Next day he came into the assembly with a quantity of wool and bandages about his neck; and when the people called upon him to get up and speak, he made signs that he had lost his voice. Upon which some that were by said, "It was no common hoarseness that he got in the night, it was a hoarseness occasioned by swallowing gold and silver." Afterwards, when all the people were apprised of his taking the bribe, and he wanted to speak in his own defence, they would not suffer him, but raised a clamour, and expressed

* Harpalus had the charge of Alexander's treasure in Babylon; and, flattering himself that he would never return from his Indian expedition, he gave in to all manner of crimes and excesses. At last, when he found that Alexander was really returning, and that he took a severe account of such people as himself, he thought proper to march off with 5000 talents, and 6000 men, into Attica.

their indignation. At the same time, somebody or other stood up and said sneeringly, "Will you not listen to the man with the cup?"* The Athenians then immediately sent Harpalus off; and fearing they might be called to account for the money with which the orators had been corrupted, they made strict inquiry after it, and searched all their houses, except that of Callicles the son of Areudes, whom they spared, as Theopompus says, because he was newly married, and his bride was in his house.

At the same time Demosthenes, seemingly with a design to prove his innocence, moved for an order that the affair should be brought before the court of Areopagus, and all persons punished who should be found guilty of taking bribes. In consequence of which, he appeared before that court, and was one of the first that were convicted. Being sentenced to pay a fine of fifty talents, and to be imprisoned till it was paid, the disgrace of his conviction, and the weakness of his constitution, which could not bear close confinement, determined him to fly; and this he did, undiscovered by some, and assisted by others. It is said, that when he was not far from the city, he perceived some of his late adversaries following, and endeavoured to hide himself. But they called to him by name, and when they came nearer, desired him to take some necessary supplies of money, which they had brought with them for that purpose. They assured him, they had no other design in following; and exhorted him to take courage. But Demosthenes gave in to more violent expressions of grief than ever, and said, "What comfort can I have, when I leave enemies in the city more generous than it seems possible to find friends in any other?"

He bore his exile in a very weak and effeminate manner. For the most part, he resided in Ægina or Trozene; where, whenever he looked towards Attica, the tears fell from his eyes. In his expressions there was nothing of a rational firmness; nothing answerable to the bold things he had said and done in his administration. When he left Athens, we are told, he lifted up his hands towards the citadel, and said, "O Minerva! goddess of those towers, whence is it that thou delightest in three such monsters as an owl, a dragon, and the people?" The young men who resorted to him for instruction he advised

* This alludes to a custom of the ancients at their feasts; wherein it was usual for the cup to pass from hand to hand, and the person who held it sang a song, to which the rest gave attention.

by no means to meddle with affairs of state. He told them, "That, if two roads had been shown him at first, the one leading to the *rostrum* and the business of the assembly, and the other to certain destruction; and he could have foreseen the evils that awaited him in the political walk, the fears, the envy, the calumny, and contention; he would have chosen that road which led to immediate death."

During the exile of Demosthenes, Alexander died.* The Greek cities once more combining upon that event, Leosthenes performed great things; and, among the rest, drew a line of circumvallation around Antipater, whom he had shut up in Lamia. Pytheas the orator, with Callimedon and Carabus, left Athens, and, going over to Antipater, accompanied his friends and ambassadors in their applications to the Greeks, and in persuading them not to desert the Macedonian cause, nor listen to the Athenians. On the other hand, Demosthenes joined the Athenian deputies, and exerted himself greatly with them in exhorting the states to fall with united efforts upon the Macedonians, and drive them out of Greece. Philarchus tells us, that, in one of the cities of Arcadia, Pytheas and Demosthenes spoke with great acrimony; the one in pleading for the Macedonians, and the other for the Greeks. Pytheas is reported to have said, "As some sickness is always supposed to be in the house into which ass's milk is brought; so the city which an Athenian embassy ever enters must necessarily be in a sick and decaying condition." Demosthenes turned the comparison against him, by saying, "As ass's milk never enters but for curing the sick; so the Athenians never appear but for remedying some disorder."

The people of Athens were so much pleased with this repartee, that they immediately voted for the recall of Demosthenes. It was Damon the Pæanean, cousin-german to Demosthenes, who drew up the decree. A galley was sent to fetch him from Ægina; and when he came up from the Piræus to Athens, the whole body of the citizens went to meet and congratulate him on his return; insomuch that there was neither a magistrate nor priest left in the town. Demetrius of Magnesia acquaints us, that Demosthenes lifted up his hands towards heaven in thanks for that happy day. "Happier," said he, "is my return than that of Alcibiades. It was through compassion that the Athenians restored him, but me they have recalled from a motive of kindness."

* Olymp. cxiv. Demosthenes was then in his fifty-eighth year.

The fine, however, still remained due: for they could not extend their grace so far as to repeal his sentence. But they found out a method to evade the law, while they seemed to comply with it. It was the custom, in the sacrifices to Jupiter the preserver, to pay the persons who prepared and adorned the altars. They therefore appointed Demosthenes to this charge; and ordered that he should have fifty talents for his trouble, which was the sum his fine amounted to.

But he did not long enjoy his return to his country. The affairs of Greece soon went to ruin. They lost the battle of Crano in the month of August, a Macedonian garrison entered Munychia in September, and Demosthenes lost his life in October.

It happened in the following manner. When news was brought that Antipater and Craterus were coming to Athens, Demosthenes and those of his party hastened to get out privately before their arrival. Hereupon, the people, at the motion of Demades, condemned them to death. As they fled different ways, Antipater sent a company of soldiers about the country to seize them. Archias, surnamed *Phuga dotherasa the exile hunter*, was their captain.

Archias being informed that Demosthenes had taken sanctuary in the temple of Neptune at Calauria, he and his Thracian soldiers passed over to it in row boats. As soon as he was landed, he went to the orator, and endeavoured to persuade him to quit the temple, and go with him to Antipater; assuring him that he had no hard measure to expect. But it happened that Demosthenes had seen a strange vision the night before. He thought that he was contending with Archias, which could play the tragedian the best; that he succeeded in his action; had the audience on his side, and would certainly have obtained the prize, had not Archias outdone him in the dresses and decorations of the theatre. Therefore, when Archias had addressed him with great appearance of humanity, he fixed his eyes on him, and said, without rising from his seat, "Neither your action moved me formerly, nor do your promises move me now." Archias then began to threaten him; upon which he said, "Before, you acted a part; now you speak as from the Macedonian tripod. Only wait awhile till I have sent my last orders to my family." So saying he retired into the inner part of the temple; and, taking some paper, as if he meant to write, he put the pen in his mouth, and bit it a considerable time, as he used to do when

thoughtful about his composition; after which, he covered his head and put it in a reclining posture. The soldiers who stood at the door, apprehending that he took these methods to put off the fatal stroke, laughed at him, and called him a coward. Archias then approaching him, desired him to rise, and began to repeat the promises of making his peace with Antipater. Demosthenes, who by this time felt the operation of the poison he had taken strong upon him, uncovered his face, and looking upon Archias, "Now," said he, "you may act the part of Creon¹ in the play as soon as you please, and cast out this carcase of mine unburied. For my part, O gracious Neptune! I quit thy temple with my breath within me. But Antipater and the Macedonians would not have scrupled to profane it with murder." By this time he could scarcely stand, and therefore desired them to support him. But, in attempting to walk out, he fell by the altar, and expired with a groan.

Aristo says he sucked the poison from a pen, as we have related it. One Poppus, whose memoirs were recovered by Hermippus, reports, that, when he fell by the altar, there was found on his paper the beginning of a letter, "Demosthenes to Antipater," and nothing more. He adds, that people being surprised that he died so quickly, the Thracians who stood at the door assured them that he took the poison in his hand out of a piece of cloth, and put it to his mouth. To them it had the appearance of gold. Upon inquiry made by Archia, a young maid who served Demosthenes said, he had long worn that piece of cloth by way of amulet. Eratosthenes tells us, that he kept the poison in the hollow of a bracelet button which he wore upon his arm. Many others have written upon the subject; but it is not necessary to give all their different accounts. We shall only add, that Democharis, a servant of Demosthenes, asserts, that he did not think his death owing to poison, but to the favour of the gods, and a happy providence, which snatched him from the cruelty of the Macedonians by a speedy and easy death. He died on the sixteenth of October, which is the most mournful day in the ceremonies of the *Thesmophoria*. The women keep it with fasting in the temple of Ceres.

It was not long before the people of Athens paid him the honours that were due to him, by erecting his statue in brass, and decreeing that the eldest of his family should be maintained

* Alluding to that passage in the *Antigone* of Sophocles, where Creon forbids the body of Polyneices to be buried

in the *Prytaneum*, at the public charge. This celebrated inscription was put upon the pedestal of his statue :

Divine in speech, in judgment, too, divine,
Had valour's wreath, Demosthenes, been thine,
Fair Greece had still her freedom's ensign borne,
And held the scourge of Macedon in scorn.

For no regard is to be made to those who say that Demosthenes himself uttered these lines in Calauria, just before he took the poison.*

As for Demades, he did not long enjoy the new honours he had acquired. The Being, who took it in charge to revenge Demosthenes, led him into Macedonia, where he justly perished by the hands of those whom he had basely flattered. They had hated him for some time; but at last they caught him in a fact which could neither be excused or pardoned. Letters of his were intercepted, in which he exhorted Perdiccas to seize Macedonia, and deliver Greece, which, he said, "hung only by an old rotten stalk," meaning Antipater. Dinarchus, the Corinthian, accusing him of this treason, Cassander was so much provoked, that he stabbed his son in his arms, and afterwards gave orders for his execution. Thus, by the most dreadful misfortunes, he learned that *traitors always first fell themselves*: a truth which Demosthenes had often told him before, but he would never believe it.

*This inscription, so far from doing Demosthenes honour, is the greatest disgrace that the Athenians could have fastened upon his memory. It reproaches him with a weakness, which, when the safety of his country was at stake, was such a deplorable want of virtue and manhood as no parts or talent could atone for.

PHOCION.



DEMADES the orator, by studying in his whole administration to please the Macedonians and Antipater, had great authority in Athens. When he found himself by that complaisance often obliged to propose laws and make speeches injurious to the dignity and virtue of his country, he used to say, "He was excusable, because he came to the helm when the commonwealth was no more than a wreck." This assertion, which in him was unwarrantable, was true enough when applied to the administration of Phocion. Demades was the very man who wrecked his country. He pursued such a vicious plan both in his private and public conduct, that Antipater scrupled not to say of him, when he was grown old, "That he was like a sacrificed beast, all consumed except his tongue and his paunch." * But the virtue of Phocion found a strong and powerful adversary in the times, and its glory was obscured in the gloomy period of Greece's misfortunes. For Virtue is not so weak as Sophocles would make her, nor is the sentiment just which he puts in the mouth of one of the persons of his drama :

— The firmest mind will fail
Beneath misfortune's stroke, and, stunn'd, depart
From its sage plan of action †

All the advantage that Fortune can truly be affirmed to gain in her combats with the good and virtuous is, the bringing upon them unjust reproach and censure, instead of the honour and esteem which are their due, and by that means lessening the confidence the world would have in their virtue.

It is imagined, indeed, that when affairs prosper, the people, elated with their strength and success, behave with greater insolence to good ministers; but it is the very reverse. Misfortunes always sour their temper; the least thing will

* The tongue and the paunch were not burned with the rest of the victim.

† *Sornoc Antig* 1 569, and 570.

then disturb them; they take fire at trifles; and they are impatient of the least severity of expression. He who reproves their faults, seems to reproach them with their misfortunes, and every bold and free address is considered as an insult. As honey makes a wounded or ulcerated member smart, so it often happens, that remonstrance, though pregnant with truth and sense, hurts and irritates the distressed, if it is not gentle and mild in the application. Hence Homer often expresses such things as are pleasant, by the word *menokes*, which signifies what is *symphonious to the mind*, what soothes its weakness, and bears not hard upon its inclinations. Inflamed eyes love to dwell upon dark brown colours and avoid such as are bright and glaring. So it is with a state, in any series of ill-conducted and unprosperous measures; such is the feeble and relaxed condition of its nerves, that it cannot bear the least alarm; the voice of truth, which brings its faults to its remembrance, gives it inexpressible pain, though not only salutary, but necessary; and it will not be heard, except its harshness is modified. It is a difficult task to govern such a people; for if the man who tells them the truth falls the first sacrifice, he who flatters them at last perishes with them.

The mathematicians say, the sun does not move in the same direction with the heavens, nor yet in a direction quite opposite, but circulating with a gentle and almost insensible obliquity, gives the whole system such a temperature as tends to its preservation. So in a system of government, if a statesman is determined to describe a straight line, and in all things to go against the inclinations of the people, such rigour must make his administration odious; and, on the other hand, if he suffers himself to be carried along with their most erroneous motions, the government will soon be in a tottering and ruinous state. The latter is the more common error of the two. But the politics which keep a middle course, sometimes slackening the reins, and sometimes keeping a tighter hand, indulging the people in one point to gain another that is more important, are the only measures that are formed upon rational principles: for a well-timed condescension and moderate treatment will bring men to concur in many useful schemes, which they could not be brought into by despotism and violence. It must be acknowledged, that this medium is difficult to hit upon, because it requires a mixture of dignity with gentleness; but when the just temperature is gained, it presents the happiest and most perfect harmony that can be conceived. It is by this

sublime harmony the Supreme Being governs the world; for nature is not dragged into obedience to his commands, and though his influence is irresistible, it is rational and mild.

The effects of austerity were seen in the younger Cato. There was nothing engaging or popular in his behaviour; he never studied to oblige the people, and therefore his weight in the administration was not great. Cicero says, "He acted as if he had lived in the commonwealth of Plato, not in the dregs of Romulus, and by that means fell short of the consulate." His case appears to me to have been the same with that of fruit which comes out of season: people look upon it with pleasure and admiration, but they make no use of it. Thus the old-fashioned virtue of Cato, making its appearance amidst the luxury and corruption which time had introduced, had all the splendour of reputation which such a phenomenon could claim, but it did not answer the exigencies of the state. The virtues of Phocion and Cato were the same in the most minute particular; their impression, form, and colour, are perfectly similar. Thus their severity of manners was equally tempered with humanity, and their valour with caution; they had the same solicitude for others, and disregard for themselves: the same abhorrence of everything base and dishonourable, and the same firm attachment to justice on all occasions: so that it requires a very delicate expression, like the finely discriminated sounds of the organ, to mark the difference in their characters.

It is universally agreed that Cato was of an illustrious pedigree; and we conjecture, that Phocion's was not mean or obscure; for had he been the son of a turner, it would certainly have been mentioned by Glaucippus, the son of Hyperides, among a thousand other things, in the treatise which he wrote on purpose to disparage him. Nor, if his birth had been so low, would he have had so good an education, or such a liberal mind and manners. It is certain that, when very young, he was in tuition with Plato, and afterwards with Xenocrates in the Academy; and from the very first, he distinguished himself by his strong application to the most valuable studies. Duris tells us, the Athenians never saw him either laugh or cry, or make use of a public bath, or put his hand from under his cloak, when he was dressed to appear in public. If he made an excursion into the country, or marched out to war, he went always barefooted, and without his upper garment too, except it happened to be intolerably cold;

and then his soldiers used to laugh, and say, "It is a sign of a sharp winter; Phocion has got his clothes on."

He was one of the most humane and best tempered men in the world, and yet he had so ill-natured and forbidding a look, that strangers were afraid to address him without company. Therefore, when Chares, the orator, observed to the Athenians what terrible brows Phocion had, and they could not help making themselves merry, he said, "This brow of mine never gave one of you an hour of sorrow; but the laughter of these sneerers has cost their country many a tear." In like manner, though the measures he proposed were happy ones, and his counsels of the most salutary kind, yet he used no flowers of rhetoric; his speeches were concise, commanding, and severe. For, as Zeno says, that a philosopher should never let a word come out of his mouth that is not strongly tinged with sense; so Phocion's oratory contained the most sense in the fewest words. And it seems that Polyæctus, the Sphettian, had this view when he said, "Demosthenes was the better orator, and Phocion the more persuasive speaker." His speeches were to be estimated like coins, not for the size, but for the intrinsic value. Agreeably to which, we are told, that one day when the theatre was full of people, Phocion was observed behind the scenes wrapped up in thought, when one of his friends took occasion to say, "What! at your meditations, Phocion?" "Yes," said he, "I am considering whether I cannot shorten what I have to say to the Athenians." And Demosthenes, who despised the other orators, when Phocion got up, used to say to his friends softly, "Here comes the pruner of my periods." But perhaps this is to be ascribed to the excellence of his character, since a word or a nod from a person revered for his virtue is of more weight than the most elaborate speeches of other men.

In his youth he served under Chabrias, then commander of the Athenian armies; and, as he paid him all proper attention, he gained much military knowledge by him. In some degree, too, he helped to correct the temper of Chabrias, which was impetuous and uneven. For that general, though at other times scarce anything could move him, in time of action was violent, and exposed his person with a boldness ungoverned by discretion. At last it cost him his life, when he made it a point to get in before the other galleys to the isle of Chios, and attempted to make good his landing by dint of sword. Phocion, whose prudence was equal to his courage, animated

him when he was too slow in his operations, and endeavoured to bring him to act coolly when he was unseasonably violent. This gained him the affection of Chabrias, who was a man of candour and probity; and he assigned him commissions and enterprises of great importance, which raised him to the notice of the Greeks. Particularly in the sea-fight off Naxos, Phocion being appointed to head the squadron on the left, where the action was hottest, had a fine opportunity to distinguish himself, and he made such use of it that victory soon declared for the Athenians; and as this was the first victory they had gained at sea, in a dispute with Greeks, since the taking of their city, they expressed the highest regard for Chabrias, and began to consider Phocion as a person in whom they should one day find an able commander. This battle was won during the celebration of the great mysteries; and Chabrias, in commemoration of it, annually treated the Athenians with wine on the sixteenth day of September.

Some time after this, Chabrias sent Phocion to the islands, to demand their contributions, and offered him a guard of twenty sail. But Phocion said, "If you send me against enemies, such a fleet is too small; if to friends, one ship is sufficient." He therefore went in his own galley, and by addressing himself to the cities and magistrates in an open and humane manner, he succeeded so well as to return with a number of ships which the allies fitted out, and at the same time put their respective quotas of money on board.

Phocion not only honoured and paid his court to Chabrias as long as he lived, but, after his death, continued his attentions to all that belonged to him. With his son Ctesippus he took peculiar care to form him to virtue; and although he found him very stupid and untractable, yet he still laboured to correct his errors, as well as to conceal them. Once, indeed, his patience failed him. In one of his expeditions the young man was so troublesome with unseasonable questions, and attempts to give advice, as if he knew how to direct the operations better than the general, that at last he cried out, "O Chabrias, Chabrias! what a return do I make thee for thy favours, in bearing with the impertinences of thy son!"

He observed that those who took upon them the management of public affairs, made two departments of them, the civil and the military, which they shared as it were by lot. Pursuant to this division, Eubulus, Aristophon, Demosthenes, Lycurgus, and Hyperides, addressed the people from the rostrum, and

proposed new edicts; while Diophites, Menestheus, Leosthenes, and Chares, raised themselves by the honours and employments of the camp. But Phocion chose rather to move in the walk of Pericles, Aristides, and Solon, who excelled not only as orators, but as generals: for he thought their fame more complete; each of these great men (to use the words of Archilochus) appearing justly to claim

The palms of Mars, and laurels of the Muse.

and he knew that the tutelar goddess of Athens was equally the patroness of arts and arms.

Formed upon these models, peace and tranquillity were the great objects he had always in view; yet he was engaged in more wars than any person, either of his own, or of the preceding times. Not that he courted, or even applied for the command; but he did not decline it when called to that honour by his countrymen. It is certain, he was elected general no less than five and forty times, without once attending to the election; being always appointed in his absence, at the free motion of his countrymen. Men of shallow understanding were surprised that the people should set such a value on Phocion, who generally opposed their inclinations, and never said or did anything with a view to recommend himself. For, as princes divert themselves at their meals with buffoons and jesters, so the Athenians attended to the polite and agreeable address of their orators by way of entertainment only; but when the question was concerning so important a business as the command of their forces, they returned to sober and serious thinking, and selected the wisest citizen, and the man of the severest manners, who had combated their capricious humours and desires the most. This he scrupled not to avow; for one day, when an oracle from Delphi was read in the assembly, importing, "That the rest of the Athenians were unanimous in their opinions, and that there was only one man who dissented from them," Phocion stepped up and told them, "They need not give themselves any trouble in inquiring for this refractory citizen, for he was the man who liked not anything they did." And another time in a public debate, when his opinion happened to be received with universal applause, he turned to his friends, and said, "Have I inadvertently let some bad thing slip from me?"

The Athenians were one day making a collection, to defray the charge of a public sacrifice, and numbers gave liberally.

Phocion was importuned to contribute among the rest: but he bade them apply to the rich. "I should be ashamed," said he, "to give you anything, and not to pay this man what I owe him," pointing to the usurer Callicles. And as they continued very clamorous and teasing, he told them this tale. "A cowardly fellow once resolved to make a campaign; but when he was set out, the ravens began to croak, and he laid down his arms and stopped. When the first alarm was a little over, he marched again. The ravens renewed their croaking, and then he made a full stop, and said, You may croak your hearts out if you please, but you shall not taste my carcass."

The Athenians once insisted on his leading them against the enemy, and when he refused, they told him nothing could be more dastardly and spiritless than his behaviour. He answered, "You can neither make me valiant, nor can I make you cowards: however, we know one another very well."

Public affairs happening to be in a dangerous situation, the people were greatly exasperated against him, and demanded an immediate account of his conduct. Upon which he only said, "My good friends, first get out of your difficulties."

During a war, however, they were generally humble and submissive, and it was not till after peace was made that they began to talk in a vaunting manner, and to find fault with their general. As they were one time telling Phocion he had robbed them of a victory which was in their hands, he said, "It is happy for you that you have a general who knows you; otherwise you would have been ruined long ago."

Having a difference with the Boeotians, which they refused to settle by treaty, and proposed to decide by the sword, Phocion said, "Good people, keep to the method in which you have the advantage: and that is talking, not fighting."

One day, determined not to follow his advice, they refused to give him the hearing. But he said, "Though you can make me act against my judgment, you shall never make me speak so."

Demosthenes, one of the orators of the adverse party, happening to say, "The Athenians will certainly kill thee, Phocion, some time or other:" he answered, "They may kill *me*, if they are mad; but it will be *you*, if they are in their senses."

When Polyeuctus, the Sphettian, advised the Athenians to make war upon Philip, the weather being hot, and the orator a corpulent man, he ran himself out of breath, and perspired so

violently, that he was forced to take several draughts of cold water before he could finish his speech. Phocion, seeing him in such a condition, thus addressed the assembly: "You have great reason to pass an edict for the war, upon this man's recommendation. For what are you not to expect from him, when loaded with a suit of armour he marches against the enemy, if in delivering to you, peaceable folks, a speech which he has composed at his leisure, he is ready to be suffocated."

Lycurgus, the orator, one day said many disparaging things of him in the general assembly, and, among the rest, observed, that when Alexander demanded ten of their orators, Phocion gave it as his opinion that they should be delivered to him. "It is true," said Phocion, "I have given the people of Athens much good counsel, but they do not follow it."

There was then in Athens one Archibiades, who got the name of Laconistes, by letting his beard grow long, in the Lacedæmonian manner, wearing a thread-bare cloak, and keeping a very grave countenance. Phocion finding one of his assertions much contradicted in the assembly, called upon this man to support the truth and rectitude of what he had said. Archibiades, however, ranged himself on the people's side, and advised what he thought agreeable to them. Then Phocion, taking him by the beard, said, "What is all this heap of hair for? Cut it, cut it off."

Aristogiton, a public informer, paraded with his pretended valour before the people, and pressed them much to declare war. But when the lists came to be made out of those that were to serve, this swaggerer had got his leg bound up, and a crutch under his arm. Phocion, as he sat upon the business, seeing him at some distance in this form, called out to his secretary to put down Aristogiton, "a cripple and a coward."

All these sayings have something so severe in them that it seems strange that a man of such austere and unpopular manners should ever get the surname of the *Good*. It is indeed difficult, but, I believe, not impossible, for the same man to be both rough and gentle, as some wines are both sweet and sour; and, on the other hand, some men who have a great appearance of gentleness in their temper, are very harsh and vexatious to those who have to do with them. In this case, the saying of Hyperides to the people of Athens deserves notice: "Examine not whether I am severe upon you, but whether I am so for my own sake." As if it were avarice only that makes a minister odious to the people, and the abuse of

power to the purposes of pride, envy, anger, or revenge, did not make a man equally obnoxious.

As to Phocion, he never exerted himself against any man in his private capacity, or considered him as an enemy; but he was inflexibly severe against every man who opposed his motions and designs for the public good. His behaviour, in other respects, was liberal, benevolent, and humane; the unfortunate he was always ready to assist, and he pleaded even for his enemy, if he happened to be in danger. His friends one day finding fault with him for appearing in behalf of a man whose conduct did not deserve it; he said, "The good have no need of an advocate." Aristogiton, the informer, being condemned, and committed to prison, begged the favour of Phocion to go and speak to him, and he hearkened to his application. His friends dissuaded him from it, but he said, "Let me alone, good people. Where can one rather wish to speak to Aristogiton than in a prison?"

When the Athenians sent out their fleets under any other commander, the maritime towns and islands in alliance with that people looked upon every such commander as an enemy: they strengthened their walls, shut up their harbours, and conveyed the cattle, the slaves, the women and children, out of the country into the cities. But when Phocion had the command, the same people went out to meet him in their own ships, with chaplets on their heads and every expression of joy, and in that manner conducted them into their cities.

Philip endeavoured privately to get a footing in Eubœa, and for that purpose sent in forces from Macedon, as well as practised upon the towns by means of the petty princes. Heroupon, Plutarch of Eretria called in the Athenians, and entreated them to rescue the island out of the hands of the Macedonians; in consequence of which they sent Phocion at first with a small body of troops, expecting that the Eubœans would immediately rise and join him. But when he came, he found nothing among them but treasonable designs and disaffection to their own country, for they were corrupted by Philip's money. For this reason, he seized an eminence separated from the plains of Tamyne by a deep defile, and in that post he secured the best of his troops.

Upon the approach of the enemy, he ordered his men to stand to their arms, but not attempt anything till he had made an end of his sacrifice; and whether it was that he wanted to gain time, or could not easily find the auspicious tokens, or was

desirous of drawing the enemy nearer to him, he was long about it. Meanwhile Plutarch, imagining that this delay was owing to his fear and irresolution, charged at the head of the mercenaries; and the cavalry seeing him in motion, could wait no longer, but advanced against the enemy, though in a scattered and disorderly manner, as they happened to issue out of the camp. The first line being soon broken, all the rest dispersed, and Plutarch himself fled. A detachment from the enemy then attacked the entrenchments, and endeavoured to make a breach in them, supposing that the fate of the day was decided. But at that instant Phocion had finished his sacrifices, and the Athenians sallying out of the camp, fell upon the assailants, routed them, and cut most of them in pieces in the trenches. Phocion then gave the main body directions to keep their ground in order to receive and cover such as were dispersed in the first attack, while he, with a select party, went and charged the enemy. A sharp conflict ensued, both sides behaving with great spirit and intrepidity. Among the Athenians, Thallus the son of Cineas, and Glaucus the son of Polymedes, who fought near the general's person, distinguished themselves the most. Cleophanes, too, did great service in the action; for he rallied the cavalry, and brought them up again, by calling after them, and insisting that they should come to the assistance of their general, who was in danger. They returned, therefore, to the charge; and by the assistance which they gave the infantry, secured the victory.

Phocion, after the battle, drove Plutarch out of Eretria, and made himself master of Zaretra, a fort, advantageously situated where the island draws to a point, and the neck of land is defended on each side by the sea. He did not choose, in pursuance of his victory, to take the Greeks prisoners, lest the Athenians, influenced by their orators, should, in the first motions of resentment, pass some inequitable sentence upon them.

After this great success, he sailed back to Athens. The allies soon found the want of his goodness and justice, and the Athenians saw his capacity and courage in a clear light. For Molossus, who succeeded him, conducted the war so ill as to fall himself into the enemy's hands. Philip, now rising in his designs and hopes, marched to the Hellespont with all his forces, in order to seize at once on the Chersonesus, Perinthus, and Byzantium.

The Athenians determining to send succours to that quarter,

the orators prevailed upon them to give that commission to Chares. Accordingly he sailed to those parts, but did nothing worthy of such a force as he was intrusted with. The cities would not receive his fleet into their harbours; but, suspected by all, he beat about, raising contributions where he could upon the allies, and, at the same time, was despised by the enemy. The orators, now taking the other side, exasperated the people to such a degree, that they repented of having sent any succours to the Byzantians. Then Phocion rose up, and told them, "They should not be angry at the suspicions of the allies, but at their own generals, who deserved not to have any confidence placed in them. For on their account," said he, "you are looked upon with an eye of jealousy by the very people who cannot be saved without your assistance." This argument had such an effect on them that they changed their minds again, and bade Phocion go himself with another armament to the succour of the allies upon the Hellespont.

This contributed more than anything to the saving of Byzantium. Phocion's reputation was already great: besides, Cleon, a man of eminence in Byzantium, who had formerly been well acquainted with him at the Academy, pledged his honour to the city in his behalf. The Byzantians would then no longer let him encamp without, but opening their gates received him into their city, and mixing familiarly with the Athenians; who, charmed with this confidence, were not only easy with respect to provisions, and regular in their behaviour, but exerted themselves with great spirit in every action. By these means Philip was forced to retire from the Hellespont, and he suffered not a little in his military reputation; for till then he had been deemed invincible. Phocion took some of his ships, and recovered several cities which he had garrisoned; and making descents in various parts of his territories, he harassed and ravaged the flat country. But at last, happening to be wounded by a party that made head against him, he weighed anchor and returned home.

Some time after this, the Megarensians applied to him privately for assistance; and as he was afraid the matter would get air, and the Boeotians would prevent him, he assembled the people early in the morning, and gave them an account of the application. They had no sooner given their sanction to the proposal, than he ordered the trumpets to sound as a signal for them to arm; after which he marched immediately to Megara, where he was received with great joy. The first thing he did

was to fortify Nisæa, and to build two good walls between the city and the port; by which means the town had a safe communication with the sea, and having now little to fear from the enemy on the land side, was secured in the Athenian interest.

The Athenians being now clearly in a state of hostility with Philip, the conduct of the war was committed to other generals in the absence of Phocion. But on his return from the islands, he represented to the people, that as Philip was peaceably disposed, and apprehensive of the issue of the war, it was best to accept the conditions he had offered. And when one of those public barreters who spend their whole time in the court of Heliaca, and make it their business to form impeachments, opposed him, and said, "Dare you, Phocion, pretend to dissuade the Athenians from war, now the sword is drawn?" "Yes," said he, "I dare; though I know thou wouldest be in my power in time of war, and I shall be thine in time of peace." Demosthenes, however, carried it against him for war; which he advised the Athenians to make at the greatest distance they could from Attica. This gave Phocion occasion to say, "My good friend, consider not so much where we shall fight, as how we shall conquer. For victory is the only thing that can keep the war at a distance. If we are beaten, every danger will soon be at our gates."

The Athenians did lose the day; after which the more factious and troublesome part of the citizens drew Charidemus to the hustings, and insisted that he should have the command. This alarmed the real well-wishers to their country so much, that they called in the members of the Arcopagus to their assistance; and it was not without many tears, and the most earnest entreaties, that they prevailed upon the assembly to put their concerns in the hands of Phocion.

He was of opinion that the other proposals of Philip should be readily accepted, because they seemed to be dictated by humanity; but when Demades moved that Athens should be comprehended in the general peace, and, as one of the states of Greece, should have the same terms with the other cities, Phocion said, "It ought not to be agreed to, till it was known what conditions Philip required." The times were against him, however, and he was over-ruled. And when he saw the Athenians repented afterwards, because they found themselves obliged to furnish Philip both with ships of war and cavalry, he said, "This was the thing I feared, and my opposition was

founded upon it. But since you have signed the treaty, you must bear its inconveniences without murmuring or despondence; remembering that your ancestors sometime gave law to their neighbours, and sometimes were forced to submit, but did both with honour; and by that means saved themselves and all Greece."

When the news of Philip's death was brought to Athens, he would not suffer any sacrifices or rejoicings to be made on that account. "Nothing," said he, "could show greater meanness of spirit than expressions of joy on the death of an enemy. What great reason, indeed, is there for it, when the army you fought with at Charonea is lessened only by one man."

Demosthenes gave in to invectives against Alexander, when he was marching against Thebes; the ill policy of which Phocion easily perceived, and said,

"What boots the godlike giant to provoke,
Whose arm may sink us at a single stroke?"

POPE, *Odys.* 9.

"When you see such a dreadful fire near you, would you plunge Athens into it? For my part, I would not suffer you to ruin yourselves, though your inclinations lie that way; and to prevent every step of that kind is the end I proposed in taking the command."

When Alexander had destroyed Thebes, he sent to the Athenians, and demanded that they should deliver up to him Demosthenes, Lycurgus, Hyperides, and Charidemus. The whole assembly cast their eyes upon Phocion, and called upon him often by name. At last he rose up, and placing him by one of his friends who had the greatest share in his confidence and affection, he expressed himself as follows: "The persons whom Alexander demands have brought the commonwealth into such miserable circumstances, that if he demanded even my friend Nicocles, I should vote for delivering him up. For my own part, I should think it the greatest happiness to die for you all. At the same time I am not without compassion for the poor Thebans who have taken refuge here; but it is enough for Greece to weep for Thebes, without weeping for Athens too. The best measure, then, we can take is to intercede with the conqueror for both, and by no means to think of fighting."

The first decree drawn up in consequence of these deliberations, Alexander is said to have rejected, and turned his back

upon the deputies; but the second he received, because it was brought by Phocion, who, as his old counsellors informed him, stood high in the esteem of his father Philip. He, therefore, not only gave him a favourable audience, and granted his request, but even listened to his counsel. Phocion advised him, "If tranquillity was his object, to put an end to his wars; if glory, to leave the Greeks in quiet, and turn his arms against the barbarians." In the course of their conference he made many observations so agreeable to Alexander's disposition and sentiments that his resentment against the Athenians was perfectly appeased, and he was pleased to say, "The people of Athens must be very attentive to the affairs of Greece: for, if anything happens to me, the supreme direction will devolve upon them." With Phocion in particular he entered into obligations of friendship and hospitality, and did him greater honours than most of his own courtiers were indulged with. Nay, Duris tells us that after that prince was risen to superior greatness, by the conquest of Darius, and had left out the word *chouren*, the common form of salutation in his address to others, he still retained it in writing to Phocion, and to nobody besides, except Antipater. Chares asserts the same.

As to his munificence to Phocion, all agree that he sent him a hundred talents. When the money was brought to Athens, Phocion asked the persons employed in that commission, "Why, among all the citizens of Athens, he should be singled out as the object of such bounty?" "Because," said they, "Alexander looks upon you as the only honest and good man." "Then," said Phocion, "let him permit me always to retain that character, as well as really to be that man." The envoys then went home with him, and when they saw the frugality that reigned there, his wife baking bread, himself drawing water, and afterwards washing his own feet, they urged him the more to receive the present. They told him, "It gave them real uneasiness, and was indeed an intolerable thing, that the friend of so great a prince should live in such a wretched manner." At that instant a poor old man happening to pass by, in a mean garment, Phocion asked the envoys, "Whether they thought worse of him than of that man?" As they begged of him not to make such a comparison, he rejoined, "Yet that man lives upon less than I do, and is contented. In one word, it will be to no purpose for me to have so much money, if I do not use it; and if I was to live up to it, I should bring both myself, and the king, your master, under the censure

of the Athenians." Thus the money was carried back from Athens, and the whole transaction was a good lesson to the Greeks, *That the man who did not want such a sum of money was richer than he who could bestow it.*

Displeased at the refusal of his present, Alexander wrote to Phocion, "That he could not number those among his friends who would not receive his favours." Yet Phocion even then would not take the money. However, he desired the king to set at liberty Echecratides the sophist, and Athenodorus the Ilirian, as also Demaratus and Sparto, two Rhodians, who were taken up for certain crimes, and kept in custody at Sardis. Alexander granted his request immediately; and afterwards, when he sent Craterus into Macedonia, ordered him to give Phocion his choice of one of these four cities in Asia, Cios, Gergithus, Mylassa, or Elæa. At the same time he was to assure him, that the king would be much more disobliged if he refused his second offer. But Phocion was not to be prevailed upon, and Alexander died soon after.

Of his first wife we have no account, except that she was sister to Cephisodotus the statuary. The other was a matron, no less celebrated among the Athenians for her modesty, prudence, and simplicity of manners, than Phocion himself was for his probity. It happened one day, when some new tragedians were to act before a full audience, one of the players, who was to personate the queen, demanded a suitable mask and attire, together with a large train of attendants, richly dressed; and, as all these things were not granted him, he was out of humour, and refused to make his appearance; by which means the whole business of the theatre was at a stand. But Melanthius, who was at the charge of the exhibition, pushed him in, and said, "Thou seest the wife of Phocion appear in public with one maid-servant only, and dost thou come here to show thy pride, and to spoil our women?" As Melanthius spoke loud enough to be heard, the audience received what he had said with a thunder of applause. When this second wife of Phocion entertained in her house an Ionian lady, one of her friends, the lady showed her her bracelets and necklaces, which had all the magnificence that gold and jewels could give them. Upon which the good matron said, "Phocion is my ornament, who is now called the twentieth time to the command of the Athenian armies."

The son of Phocion was ambitious of trying his skill in the games of the *panathenæa*, and his father permitted him to make

the trial, on condition that it was in the foot-races; not that he set any value upon the victory, but he did it that the preparations and previous exercise might be of service to him; for the young man was of a disorderly turn, and addicted to drinking. Phocus (that was his name) gained the victory, and a number of his acquaintance desired to celebrate it by entertainments at their houses; but that favour was granted only to one. When Phocion came to the house, he saw everything prepared in the most extravagant manner, and, among the rest, that wine mingled with spices was provided for washing the feet of the guests. He therefore called his son to him, and said, "Phocus, why do you suffer your friends thus to sully the honour of your victory?"*

In order to correct in his son entirely that inclination to luxury, he carried him to Lacedæmon, and put him among the young men who were brought up in all the rigour of the ancient discipline. This gave the Athenians no little offence, because it showed in what contempt he held the manners and customs of his own country. Demades one day said to him, "Why do not we, Phocion, persuade the people to adopt the Spartan form of government? If you choose it, I will propose a decree for it, and support it in the best manner I am able." "Yes, indeed," said Phocion, "it would become you much, with all these perfumes about you, and that pride of dress, to launch out in praise of Lycurgus and the Lacedæmonian frugality."

Alexander wrote to the Athenians for a supply of ships, and the orators opposing it, the senate asked Phocion his opinion. "I am of opinion," said he, "that you should either have the sharpest sword, or keep upon good terms with those who have."

When Harpalus had traitorously carried off Alexander's treasures from Babylon, and came with them from Asia to Attica, a number of the mercenary orators flocked to him, in hopes of sharing in the spoil. He gave these some small taste of his wealth, but to Phocion he sent no less than seven hundred talents; assuring him, at the same time, that he might command his whole fortune, if he would take him into his protection. But his messengers found a disagreeable reception: Phocion told them that "Harpalus should repent it, if he continued thus to corrupt the city." And the traitor, dejected at his disappointment, stopped his hand. A few days after, a general assembly being held on this affair, he found that the men who

* The victory was obtained by means of abstemiousness and laborious exercise to which such indulgences were quite contrary.

had taken his money, in order to exculpate themselves, accused him to the people, while Phocion, who would accept of nothing, was inclined to serve him, as far as might be consistent with the public good. Harpalus, therefore, paid his court to him again, and took every method to shake his integrity, but he found the fortress on all sides impregnable. Afterwards he applied to Charicles, Phocion's son-in-law, and his success with him gave just cause of offence; for all the world saw how intimate he was with him, and that all his business went through his hands.

After the death of Harpalus, Charicles and Phocion took his daughter under their guardianship, and educated her with great care. At last, Charicles was called to account by the public for the money he had received of Harpalus; and he desired Phocion to support him with his interest, and to appear with him in the court. But Phocion answered, "I made you my son-in-law only for just and honourable purposes."

The first person that brought the news of Alexander's death was Asclepiades the son of Hipparchus. Demades desired the people to give no credit to it: "For," said he, "if Alexander were dead, the whole world would smell the carcass." And Phocion, seeing the Athenians elated, and inclined to raise new commotions, endeavoured to keep them quiet. Many of the orators, however, ascended the rostrum and assured the people, that the tidings of Asclepiades were true; "Well then," said Phocion, "if Alexander is dead to-day, he will be so to-morrow, and the day following; so that we may deliberate on that event at our leisure, and take our measures with safety."

When Leosthenes, by his intrigues, had involved Athens in the Lamian war, and saw how much Phocion was displeased at it, he asked him in a scoffing manner, "What good he had done his country, during the many years that he was general?" "And dost thou think it nothing, then," said Phocion, "for the Athenians to be buried in the sepulchres of their ancestors?" As Leosthenes continued to harangue the people in the most arrogant and pompous manner, Phocion said, "Young man, your speeches are like cypress trees, large and lofty, but without fruit." Hyperides rose up and said, "Tell us, then, what will be the proper time for the Athenians to go to war?" Phocion answered, "I do not think it advisable till the young men keep within the bounds of order and propriety, the rich become liberal in their contributions, and the orators forbear robbing the public."

Most people admired the forces raised by Leosthenes; and when they asked Phocion his opinion of them, he said, "I like them very well for a short race, but I dread the consequence of a long one. The supplies, the ships, the soldiers, are all very good; but they are the last we can produce." The event justified his observation. Leosthenes at first gained great reputation by his achievements; for he defeated the Bœotians in a pitched battle, and drove Antipater into Lamia. On this occasion the Athenians, borne upon the tide of hope, spent their time in mutual entertainments and in sacrifices to the gods. Many of them thought, too, they had a fine opportunity to play upon Phocion, and asked him, "Whether he should not have wished to have done such great things?" "Certainly I should," said Phocion; "but still I should advise not to have attempted them." And when letters and messengers from the army came one after another, with an account of farther success, he said, "When shall we have done conquering?"

Leosthenes died soon after; and the party which was for continuing the war, fearing that if Phocion were elected general, he would be for putting an end to it, instructed a man that was little known, to make a motion in the assembly, importing—"That, as an old friend and schoolfellow of Phocion, he desired the people to spare him, and preserve him for the most pressing occasions, because there was not another man in their dominions to be compared to him." At the same time he was to recommend Antiphilus for the command. The Athenians embracing the proposal, Phocion stood up and told them, "He never was that man's schoolfellow, nor had he any acquaintance with him, but from this moment," said he, turning to him, "I shall number thee amongst my best friends, since thou hast advised what is most agreeable to me."

The Athenians were strongly inclined to prosecute the war with the Bœotians; and Phocion at first as strongly opposed it. His friends represented to him, that this violent opposition of his would provoke them to put him to death. "They may do it, if they please," said he; "it will be unjustly, if I advise them for the best; but justly, if I should prevaricate." However, when he saw that they were not to be persuaded, and that they continued to besiege him with clamour, he ordered a herald to make proclamation, "That all the Athenians, who were not more than sixty years above the age of puberty, should take five days' provisions, and follow him immediately from the assembly to the field."

This raised a great tumult, and the old men began to exclaim against the order, and to walk off. Upon which Phocion said, "Does this disturb you, when I, who am fourscore years old, shall be at the head of you?" That short remonstrance had its effect; it made them quiet and tractable. When Micion marched a considerable corps of Macedonians and mercenaries to Rhamnus, and ravaged the sea coast and the adjacent country, Phocion advanced against him with a body of Athenians. On this occasion a number of them were very impertinent in pretending to dictate or advise him how to proceed. One counselled him to secure such an eminence, another to send his cavalry to such a post, and a third pointed out a place for a camp. "Heavens!" said Phocion, "how many generals we have, and how few soldiers!"

When he had drawn up his army, one of the infantry advanced before the ranks; but when he saw an enemy stepping out to meet him, his heart failed him, and he drew back to his post. Whereupon Phocion said, "Young man, are you not ashamed to desert your station twice in one day; that in which I had placed you, and that in which you had placed yourself?" Then he immediately attacked the enemy, routed them, and killed great numbers, among whom was their general, Micion. The confederate army of the Greeks in Thessaly likewise defeated Antipater in a great battle, though Leonatus and the Macedonians from Asia had joined him. Leonatus was among the slain.

Soon after this Craterus passed over from Asia with a numerous army, and another battle was fought, in which the Greeks were worsted. The loss, indeed, was not great; and it was principally owing to the disobedience of the soldiers, who had young officers that did not exert a proper authority. But this, joined to the practice of Antipater upon the cities, made the Greeks desert the league, and shamefully betray the liberty of their country. As Antipater marched directly towards Athens, Demosthenes and Hyperides fled out of the city. As for Demades, he had not been able, in any degree, to answer the fines that had been laid upon him; for he had been amerced seven times for proposing edicts contrary to law. He had also been declared infamous, and incapable of speaking in the assembly. But now finding himself at full liberty, he moved for an order that ambassadors should be sent to Antipater with full powers to treat of peace. The people, alarmed at their present situation, called for Phocion, declaring that he

was the only man they could trust. Upon which he said, "If you had followed the counsel I gave you, we should not have had now to deliberate on such an affair." Thus the decree passed, and Phocion was dispatched to Antipater, who then lay with his army in Cadmea, and was preparing to enter Attica.

His first requisition was, that Antipater would finish the treaty before he left the camp in which he then lay. Craterus said, it was an unreasonable demand that they should remain there to be troublesome to their friends and allies, when they might subsist at the expense of their enemies: But Antipater took him by the hand, and said, "Let us indulge Phocion so far." As to the conditions, he insisted that the Athenians should leave them to him, as he had done at Lamia to their general Leosthenes.

Phocion went and reported this preliminary to the Athenians, which they agreed to out of necessity; and then returned to Thebes, with other ambassadors; the principal of whom was Xenocrates, the philosopher. For the virtue and reputation of the latter were so great and illustrious that the Athenians thought there could be nothing in human nature so insolent, savage, and ferocious as not to feel some impressions of respect and reverence at the sight of him. It happened, however, otherwise with Antipater, through his extreme brutality and antipathy to virtue; for he embraced the rest with great cordiality, but would not even speak to Xenocrates; which gave him occasion to say, "Antipater does well in being ashamed before me, and me only, of his injurious designs against Athens."

Xenocrates afterwards attempted to speak, but Antipater, in great anger, interrupted him, and would not suffer him to proceed. To Phocion's discourse, however, he gave attention; and answered, that he should grant the Athenians peace, and consider them as his friends, on the following conditions: "In the first place," said he, "they must deliver up to me Demosthenes and Hyperides. In the next place, they must put their government on the ancient footing, when none but the rich were advanced to the great offices of state. A third article is, that they must receive a garrison in Munychia; and a fourth, that they must pay the expenses of the war." All the new deputies, except Xenocrates, thought themselves happy in these conditions. That philosopher said, "Antipater deals favourably with us, if he considers us as his slaves; but hardly, if he looks upon us as freemen."

Phocion begged for a remission of the article of the garrison; and Antipater is said to have answered, "Phocion, we will grant thee everything, except what would be the ruin of both us and thee." Others say, that Antipater asked Phocion, "Whether, if he excused the Athenians as to the garrison, he would undertake for their observing the other articles, and raising no new commotions?" As Phocion hesitated at this question, Callimedon, surnamed Carabus, a violent man, and an enemy to popular government, started up and said, "Antipater, why do you suffer this man to amuse you? If he should give you his word, would you depend upon it, and not abide by your first resolutions?"

Thus the Athenians were obliged to receive a Macedonian garrison, which was commanded by Menyllus, a man of great moderation, and the friend of Phocion. But that precaution appeared to be dictated by a wanton vanity; rather an abuse of power to the purposes of insolence, than a measure necessary for the conqueror's affairs. It was more severely felt by the Athenians, on account of the time the garrison entered; which was the twentieth of the month of September, when they were celebrating the great mysteries, and the very day that they carried the god Bacchus in procession from the city to Eleusis. The disturbances they saw in the ceremonies gave many of the people occasion to reflect on the difference of the divine dispensations with respect to Athens in the present and in ancient times. "Formerly," said they, "mystic visions were seen, and voices heard, to the great happiness of the republic, and the terror and astonishment of our enemies. But now, during the same ceremonies, the gods look without concern upon the severest misfortunes that can happen to Greece, and suffer the holiest, and what was once the most agreeable time in the year, to be profaned, and rendered the date of our greatest calamities."

The garrison commanded by Menyllus did no sort of injury to the citizens. But the number excluded, by another article of the treaty, on account of their poverty, from a share in the government, was upwards of twelve thousand. Such of these as remained in Athens appeared to be in a state of misery and disgrace; and such as migrated to a city and lands in Thrace, assigned them by Antipater, looked upon themselves as no better than a conquered people transported into a foreign country.

The death of Demosthenes in Calauria, and that of Hyperides at Cleone, made the Athenians remember Alexander and

Philip with a regret which seemed almost inspired by affection. The case was the same with them now, as it was with the countryman afterwards upon the death of Antigonus. Those who killed that prince, and reigned in his stead, were so oppressive and tyrannical, that a Phrygian peasant, who was digging the ground, being asked what he was seeking, said, with a sigh, "I am seeking for Antigonus." Many of the Athenians expressed equal concern now, when they remembered the great and generous turn of mind in those kings, and how easily their anger was appeased; whereas Antipater, who endeavoured to conceal his power under the mask of a private man, a mean habit, and a plain diet, was infinitely more rigorous to those under his command; and, in fact, an oppressor and a tyrant. Yet, at the request of Phocion, he recalled many persons from exile; and to such as he did not choose to restore to their own country, granted a commodious situation; for, instead of being forced to reside, like other exiles, beyond the Ceraunian mountains, and the promontory of Tamarus, he suffered them to remain in Greece, and settle in Peloponnesus. Of this number was Agnomides the informer.

In some other instances he governed with equity. He directed the police of Athens in a just and candid manner; raising the modest and the good to the principal employments; and excluding the uneasy and the seditious from all offices; so that, having no opportunity to excite troubles, the spirit of faction died away; and he taught them by little and little to love the country, and apply themselves to agriculture. Observing one day that Xenocrates paid a tax as a stranger, he offered to make him a present of his freedom; but he refused it, and assigned this reason: "I will never be a member of that government, to prevent the establishment of which I acted in a public character."

Menyllus was pleased to offer Phocion a considerable sum of money. But he said, "Neither is Menyllus a greater man than Alexander: nor have I greater reason to receive a present now than I had then." The governor pressed him to take it at least for his son Phocus; but he answered, "If Phocus becomes sober, his father's estate will be sufficient for him, and if he continues dissolute, nothing will be so." He gave Antipater a more severe answer, when he wanted him to do something inconsistent with his probity. "Antipater," said he, "cannot have me both for a friend and a flatterer." And Antipater himself used to say, "I have two friends in Athens, Phocion

and Demades: it is impossible either to persuade the one to anything, or to satisfy the other." Indeed, Phocion had his poverty to show as a proof of his virtue; for, though he so often commanded the Athenian armies, and was honoured with the friendship of so many kings, he grew old in indigence; whereas Demades paraded with his wealth even in instances that were contrary to law, for there was a law at Athens, that no foreigner should appear in the chorusses upon the stage, under the penalty of a thousand *drachmas*, to be paid by the person who gave the entertainment. Yet Demades, in his exhibition, produced none but foreigners; and he paid the thousand *drachmas* fine for each, though their number was a hundred. And when his son Demea was married, he said, "When I married your mother, the next neighbour hardly knew it; but kings and princes contribute to the expense of your nuptials."

The Athenians were continually importuning Phocion to persuade Antipater to withdraw the garrison; but whether it was that he despaired of success, or rather because he perceived that the people were more sober and submissive to government, under fear of that rod, he always declined the commission. The only thing that he asked and obtained of Antipater was, that the money which the Athenians were to pay for the charges of the war, should not be insisted on immediately, but a longer term granted. The Athenians, finding that Phocion would not meddle with the affair of the garrison, applied to Demades, who readily undertook it. In consequence of this, he and his son took a journey to Macedonia. It should seem his evil genius led him thither; for he arrived just at the time when Antipater was in his last illness; and when Cassander, now absolute master of everything, had intercepted a letter written by Demades to Antigonus in Asia, inviting him to come over and seize Greece and Macedonia, "which," he said, "hung only upon an old rotten stalk;" so he contemptuously called Antipater. Cassander no sooner saw him, than he ordered him to be arrested; and first he killed his son before his eyes, and so near, that the blood spouted upon him, and filled his bosom; then, after having reproached him with his ingratitude and perfidiousness, he slew him likewise.

Antipater, a little before his death, had appointed Polyperchon general, and gave Cassander the command of a thousand men. But Cassander, far from being satisfied with such an appointment, hastened to seize the supreme power,

and immediately sent Nicanor to take the command of the garrison from Menyllus, and to secure Munychia before the news of his father's death got abroad. The scheme was carried into execution; and, a few days after, the Athenians being informed of the death of Antipater, accused Phocion of being privy to that event, and concealing it out of friendship to Nicanor. Phocion, however, gave himself no pain about it; on the contrary, he conversed familiarly with Nicanor; and, by his assiduities, rendered him not only kind and obliging to the Athenians, but inspired him with an ambition to distinguish himself by exhibiting games and shows to the people.

Meantime Polyperchon, to whom the care of the king's person was committed, in order to countermine Cassander, wrote letters to the Athenians, importing, "That the king restored them their ancient form of government;" according to which, all the people had a right to public employments. This was a snare he laid for Phocion. For, being desirous of making himself master of Athens (as soon appeared from his actions), he was sensible that he could not effect anything while Phocion was in the way. He saw, too, that his expulsion would be no difficult task, when all who had been excluded from a share in the administration were restored; and the orators and public informers were once more masters of the tribunals.

As these letters raised great commotions among the people, Nicanor was desired to speak to them on that subject in the Piræus; and for that purpose entered their assembly, trusting his person with Phocion. Dercyllus, who had commanded for the king in the adjacent country, laid a scheme to seize him; but Nicanor getting timely information of his design, guarded against it, and soon showed that he would wreak his vengeance on the city. Phocion then was blamed for letting him go when he had him in his hands; but he answered, "He could confide in Nicanor's promises. and saw no reason to suspect him of any ill design." "However," said he, "be the issue what it may, I had rather be found suffering than doing what is unjust."

This answer of his, if we examine it with respect to himself only, will appear to be entirely the result of fortitude and honour; but, when we consider that he hazarded the safety of his country, and, what is more, that he was general and first magistrate, I know not whether he did not violate a stronger and more respectable obligation. It is in vain to allege that Phocion was afraid of involving Athens in a war; and for that

reason would not seize the person of Nicanor; and that he only urged the obligations of justice and good faith, that Nicanor, by a grateful sense of such behaviour, might be prevailed upon to be quiet, and think of no injurious attempt against the Athenians. For the truth is, he had such confidence in Nicanor, that when he had accounts brought him from several hands of his designs upon the Piræus, of his ordering a body of mercenaries to Salamis, and of his bribing some of the inhabitants of the Piræus, he would give no credit to any of those things. Nay, when Philomedes, of the borough of Lampra, got an edict made, that all the Athenians should take up arms, and obey the orders of Phocion, he took no care to act in pursuance of it, till Nicanor had brought his troops out of Munychia, and carried his trenches round the Piræus. Then Phocion would have led the Athenians against him; but by this time they were become mutinous, and looked upon him with contempt.

At this juncture arrived Alexander, the son of Polyperchon, with an army, under pretence of assisting the city against Nicanor; but, in reality, to avail himself of its fatal divisions, and to seize it, if possible, for himself. For the exiles who entered the town with him, the foreigners, and such citizens as had been stigmatised as infamous, with other mean people, resorted to him, and altogether made up a strange disorderly assembly, by whose suffrages the command was taken from Phocion, and other generals appointed. Had not Alexander been seen alone near the walls in conference with Nicanor, and by repeated interviews given the Athenians cause of suspicion, the city could not have escaped the danger it was in. Immediately the orator Agnonides singled out Phocion, and accused him of treason; which so much alarmed Callimedon and Charicles, that they fled out of the city. Phocion, with such of his friends as did not forsake him, repaired to Polyperchon. Solon of Platæa, and Dinarchus of Corinth, who passed for the friends and confidants of Polyperchon, out of regard to Phocion, desired to be of the party. But Dinarchus falling ill by the way, they were obliged to stop many days at Elatea. In the meantime, Archestratus proposed a decree, and Agnonides got it passed, that deputies should be sent to Polyperchon, with an accusation against Phocion.

The two parties came up to Polyperchon at the same time, as he was upon his march with the king, near Pharuges, a town of Phocis, situated at the foot of Mount Acroterian, now

called Galate. There Polyperchon placed the king under a golden canopy, and his friends on each side of him; and, before he proceeded to any other business, gave orders that Dinarchus should be put to the torture, and afterwards despatched. This done, he gave the Athenians audience. But, as they filled the place with noise and tumult, interrupting each other with mutual accusations to the council, Agnonides pressed forward and said, "Put us all in one cage, and send us back to Athens, to give account of our conduct there." The king laughed at the proposal: but the Macedonians who attended on that occasion, and the strangers who were drawn thither by curiosity, were desirous of hearing the cause; and therefore made signs to the deputies to argue the matter there. However, it was far from being conducted with impartiality. Polyperchon often interrupted Phocion, who at last was so provoked, that he struck his staff upon the ground, and would speak no more. Hegemon said, Polyperchon himself could bear witness to his affectionate regard for the people; and that general answered, "Do you come here to slander me before the king?" Upon this the king started up, and was going to run Hegemon through with his spear; but Polyperchon prevented him; and the council broke up immediately.

The guards then surrounded Phocion and his party, except a few, who, being at some distance, muffled themselves up, and fled. Clitus carried the prisoners to Athens, under colour of having them tried there, but, in reality, only to have them put to death, as persons already condemned. The manner of conducting the thing made it a more melancholy scene. The prisoners were carried in carts through the Ceramicus to the theatre, where Clitus shut them up till the *Archons* had assembled the people. From this assembly neither slaves, nor foreigners, nor persons stigmatised as infamous, were excluded; the tribunal and the theatre were open to all. Then the king's letter was read; the purport of which was "That he had found the prisoners guilty of treason; but that he left it to the Athenians, as freemen, who were to be governed by their own laws, to pass sentence upon them."

At the same time Clitus presented them to the people. The best of the citizens, when they saw Phocion, appeared greatly dejected, and, covering their faces with their mantles, began to weep. One, however, had the courage to say, "Since the king leaves the determination of so important a matter to the people, it would be proper to command all slaves and strangers to

depart." But the populace, instead of agreeing to that motion, cried out, "It would be much more proper to stone all the favourers of oligarchy, all the enemies of the people." After which, no one attempted to offer anything in behalf of Phocion. It was with much difficulty that he obtained permission to speak. At last, silence being made, he said, "Do you design to take away my life justly or unjustly?" Some of them answering, "Justly;" he said, "How can you know whether it will be justly, if you do not hear me first?" As he did not find them inclinable in the least to hear him, he advanced some paces forward, and said, "Citizens of Athens, I acknowledge I have done you injustice; and for my faults in the administration, adjudge myself guilty of death; but why will you put these men to death, who have never injured you?" The populace made answer, "Because they are friends to you." Upon which he drew back and resigned himself quietly to his fate.

Agnonides then read the decree he had prepared; according to which, the people were to declare by their suffrages whether the prisoners appeared to be guilty or not; and if they appeared so, they were to suffer death. When the decree was read, some called for an additional clause for putting Phocion to the torture before execution; and insisted that the rack and its managers should be sent for immediately. But Agnonides, observing that Clitus was displeased at that proposal, and looking upon it himself as a barbarous and detestable thing, said, "When we take that villain Callimedon, let us put him to the torture; but, indeed, my fellow-citizens, I cannot consent that Phocion should have such hard measure." Upon this, one of the better disposed Athenians cried out, "Thou art certainly right; for if we torture Phocion, what must we do to thee?" There was, however, hardly one negative when the sentence of death was proposed: all the people gave their voices standing; and some of them even crowned themselves with flowers, as if it had been a matter of festivity. With Phocion, there were Nicoteles, Thudippus, Hegemon, and Pythocles. As for Demetrius the Phalerean, Callimedon, Charicles, and some others, who were absent, the same sentence was passed upon them.

After the assembly was dismissed, the convicts were sent to prison. The embraces of their friends and relations melted them into tears; and they all went on bewailing their fate, except Phocion. His countenance was the same as when the people sent him out to command their armies; and the beholders

could not but admire his invincible firmness and magnanimity. Some of his enemies, indeed, reviled him as he went along; and one of them even spit in his face: upon which he turned to the magistrates, and said, "Will nobody correct this fellow's rudeness?" Thudippus, when he saw the executioner pounding the hemlock, began to lament what hard fortune it was for him to suffer unjustly on Phocion's account. "What then!" said the venerable sage, "dost thou not think it an honour to die with Phocion?" One of his friends asking him whether he had any commands to his son. "Yes," said he, "by all means tell him from me to forget the ill treatment I have had from the Athenians." And when Nicoteles, the most faithful of his friends, begged that he would let him drink the poison before him, "This," said he, "Nicoteles, is a hard request; and the thing must give me great uneasiness; but since I have obliged you in every instance through life, I will do the same in this."

When they came all to drink, the quantity proved not sufficient; and the executioner refused to prepare more, except he had twelve *drachmas* paid him, which was the price of a full draught. As this occasioned a troublesome delay, Phocion called one of his friends, and said, "Since one cannot die on free cost at Athens, give the man his money."

This execution was on the nineteenth day of *April*, when there was a procession of horsemen in honour of Jupiter. As the cavalcade passed by, some took off their chaplets from their heads; others shed tears as they looked at the prison doors; all who had not hearts entirely savage, or were not corrupted by rage and envy, looked upon it as a most impious thing, not to have reprieved them at least for that day, and so to have kept the city unpolluted on the festival.

However, the enemies of Phocion, as if something had been wanting to their triumph, got an order that his body should not be suffered to remain within the bounds of Attica; nor that any Athenian should furnish fire for the funeral pile. Therefore, no friend durst touch it; but one Conopion, who lived by such services, for a sum of money, carried the corpse out of the territories of Eleusis, and got fire for the burning of it in those of Megara. A woman of Megara, who happened to assist at the ceremony with her maid-servants, raised a *canotaph* upon the spot, and performed the customary libations. The bones she gathered up carefully into her lap, and carried them by night to her own house, and interred them under the hearth. At the same time she thus addressed the domestic gods: "Ye

guardians of this place, to you I commit the remains of this good man. Do you restore them to the sepulchre of his ancestors, when the Athenians shall once more listen to the dictates of wisdom."

The time was not long before the situation of their affairs taught them how vigilant a magistrate, and how excellent a guardian of the virtues of justice and sobriety, they had lost. The people erected his statue in brass, and buried his remains at the public expense. Agnonides, his principal accuser, they put to death, in consequence of a decree for that purpose. Epicurus and Demophilus, the other two, fled from Athens; but afterwards fell into the hands of Phocion's son, who punished them as they deserved. This son of his was in other respects a worthless man.

The proceedings against Phocion put the Greeks in mind of those against Socrates. The treatment of both was equally unjust, and the calamities thence entailed upon Athens were perfectly similar.*

* Socrates was put to death eighty-two years before.

PHILOPŒMEN.



T Mantinea there was a man of great quality and power named Cassander, who, being obliged by a reverse of fortune to quit his own country, went and settled at Megalopolis. He was induced to fix there, chiefly by the friendship which subsisted between him and Crausis, the father of Philopœmen, who was in all respects an extraordinary man. While his friend lived, he had all that he could wish; and being desirous, after his death, to make some return for his hospitality, he educated his orphan son, in the same manner as Homer says Achilles was educated by Phoenix, and formed him from his infancy to generous sentiments and royal virtues.

But when he was past the years of childhood, Ecdemus and Demophanes had the principal care of him. They were both Megalopolitans who, having learned the academic philosophy of Arcesilaus,* applied it, above all the men of their time, to action and affairs of state. They delivered their country from tyranny, by providing persons privately to take off Aristodemus; they were assisting to Aratus in driving out Necocles the tyrant of Sicyon: and, at the request of the people of Cyrene, whose government was in great disorder, they sailed thither, settled it on the foundation of good laws, and thoroughly regulated the commonwealth. But among all their great actions, they valued themselves most on the education of Philopœmen, as having rendered him, by the principles of philosophy, a common benefit to Greece. And indeed, as he came the last of so many excellent generals, Greece loved him extremely, as the child of her old age, and, as his reputation increased, enlarged his power. For which reason, a certain Roman calls him *the last of the Greeks*, meaning that Greece had not produced one great man, or one that was worthy of her, after him.

His visage was not very homely, as some imagined it to have been; for we see his statue still remaining at Delphi.

* Arcesilaus was founder of the middle Academy, and made some alteration in the doctrine which had obtained.

As for the mistake of his hostess at Megara, it is said to be owing to his uneasiness of behaviour and the simplicity of his garb. She having word brought that the general of the Achæans was coming to her house, was in great care and hurry to provide his supper, her husband happening to be out of the way. In the meantime, Philopœmen came, and as his habit was ordinary, she took him for one of his own servants, or for a harbinger, and desired him to assist her in the business of the kitchen. He presently threw off his cloak, and began to cleave some wood, when the master of the house returning, and seeing him so employed, said, "What is the meaning of this, Philopœmen?" He replied, in broad Doric, "I am paying the fine of my deformity." Titus Flaminius, rallying him one day upon his make, said, "What fine hands and legs you have! but then you have no stomach;" and he was indeed very slender in the waist. But this raillery might rather be referred to the condition of his fortune: for he had good soldiers, both horse and foot, but very often wanted money to pay them. These stories are subjects of disputations in the schools.

As to his manners, we find that his pursuits of honour were too much attended with roughness and passion. Epaminondas was the person whom he proposed his pattern; and he succeeded in imitating his activity, shrewdness, and contempt of riches; but his choleric, contentious humour prevented his attaining to the mildness, the gravity, and candour of that great man in political disputes; so that he seemed rather fit for war than for the civil administration. Indeed, from a child he was fond of everything in the military way, and readily entered into the exercises which tended to that purpose, those of riding, for instance, and handling of arms. As he seemed well formed for wrestling, too, his friends and governors advised him to improve himself in that art; which gave him occasion to ask, whether that might be consistent with his proficiency as a soldier? They told him the truth; that the habit of body and manner of life, the diet and exercise, of a soldier and a wrestler, were entirely different: that the wrestler must have much sleep and full meals, stated times of exercise and rest, every little departure from his rules being very prejudicial to him; whereas the soldier should be prepared for the most irregular changes of living, and should chiefly endeavour to bring himself to bear the want of food and sleep without difficulty. Philopœmen hearing this, not only

avoided and derided the exercise of wrestling himself, but afterwards, when he came to be general, to the utmost of his power exploded the whole art, by every mark of disgrace and expression of contempt; satisfied that it rendered persons, who were the most fit for war, quite useless, and unable to fight on necessary occasions.

When his governors and preceptors had quitted their charge, he engaged in those private incursions into Laconia which the city of Megalopolis made for the sake of booty; and in these he was sure to be the first to march out, and the last to return.

His leisure he spent either in the chase, which increased both his strength and activity, or in the tillage of the field. For he had a handsome estate twenty furlongs from the city, to which he went every day after dinner, or after supper; and, at night, he threw himself upon an ordinary mattress, and slept as one of the labourers. Early in the morning he rose and went to work along with his vine-dressers or ploughmen; after which he returned to the town, and employed his time about the public affairs with his friends and with the magistrates. What he gained in the wars he laid out upon horses or arms, or in the redeeming of captives; but he endeavoured to improve his own estate the justest way in the world, by agriculture I mean. Nor did he apply himself to it in a cursory manner, but in full conviction that the surest way not to touch what belongs to others is to take care of one's own.

He spent some time in hearing the discourses and studying the writings of philosophers; but selected such as he thought might assist his progress in virtue. Among the poetical images in Homer, he attended to those which seemed to excite and encourage valour: and as to other authors, he was most conversant in the *Tactics* of Evangelus, and in the *History* of Alexander; being persuaded that learning ought to conduce to action, and not be considered as mere pastime and a useless fund for talk. In the study of *Tactics* he neglected those plans and diagrams that are drawn upon paper, and exemplified the rules in the field; considering with himself as he travelled, and pointing out to those about him, the difficulties of steep or broken ground; and how the ranks of an army must be extended or closed, according to the differences made by rivers, ditches, and defiles.

He seems, indeed, to have set rather too great a value on military knowledge; embracing war as the most extensive

exercise of virtue, and despising those that were not versed in it, as persons entirely useless.

He was now thirty years old, when Cleomenes,* king of the Lacedæmonians, surprised Megalopolis in the night, and having forced the guards, entered and seized the market-place. Philopæmen ran to succour the inhabitants, but was not able to drive out the enemy, though he fought with the most determined and desperate valour. He prevailed, however, so far as to give the people opportunity to steal out of the town, by maintaining the combat with the pursuers, and drawing Cleomenes upon himself, so that he retired the last with difficulty, and after prodigious efforts, being wounded, and having his horse killed under him. When they had gained Messene, Cleomenes made them an offer of their city with their lands and goods. Philopæmen perceiving they were glad to accept the proposal, and in haste to return, strongly opposed it, representing to them in a set speech, that Cleomenes did not want to restore them their city, but to be master of the citizens, in order that he might be more secure of keeping the place; that he could not sit still long to watch empty houses and walls, for the very solitude would force him away. By this argument he turned the Megalopolitans from their purpose, but at the same time furnished Cleomenes with a pretence to plunder the town and demolish the greatest part of it, and to march off loaded with booty.

Soon after Antigonus came down to assist the Achæans against Cleomenes; and finding that he had possessed himself of the heights of Scelasia, and blocked up the passages, Antigonus drew up his army near him, with a resolution to force him from his post. Philopæmen, with his citizens, was placed among the cavalry, supported by the Illyrian foot, a numerous and gallant body of men, who closed that extremity. They had orders to wait quietly, until, from the other wing, where the king fought in person, they should see a red robe lifted up upon the point of a spear. The Achæans kept their ground, as they were directed; but the Illyrian officers with their corps attempted to break in upon the Lacedæmonians. Euclidas, the brother of Cleomenes, seeing this opening made in the enemy's army, immediately ordered a party of his light-armed infantry to wheel about and attack the rear of the

* Cleomenes made himself master of Megalopolis in the second year of the hundred and thirty-ninth Olympiad, which was the two hundred and twenty-first before the Christian æra.

Illyrians thus separated from the horse. This being put in execution, and the Illyrians, harassed and broken, Philopœmen perceived that it would be no difficult matter to drive off that light-armed party, and that the occasion called for it. First he mentioned the thing to the king's officers, but they rejected the hint, and considered him as no better than a madman, his reputation being not yet respectable enough to justify such a movement. He, therefore, with the Megalopolitans, falling upon that light-armed corps himself, at the first encounter put them in confusion, and soon after routed them with great slaughter. Desirous yet further to encourage Antigonus's troops, and quickly to penetrate into the enemy's army, which was now in some disorder, he quitted his horse; and advancing on foot, in his horseman's coat of mail and other heavy accoutrements, upon rough uneven ground, that was full of springs and bogs, he was making his way with extreme difficulty, when he had both his thighs struck through with a javelin, so that the point came through on the other side, and the wound was great though not mortal. At first he stood still as if he had been shackled, not knowing what method to take. For the thong in the middle of the javelin rendered it difficult to be drawn out; nor would any about him venture to do it. At the same time the fight being at the hottest, and likely to be soon over, honour and indignation pushed him on to take his share in it; and therefore, by moving his legs this way and that, he broke the staff, and then ordered the pieces to be pulled out. Thus set free, he ran, sword in hand, through the first ranks, to charge the enemy; at the same time animating the troops and firing them with emulation.

Antigonus, having gained the victory, to try his Macedonian officers, demanded of them, "Why they had brought on the cavalry before he gave them the signal?" By way of apology, they said, "They were obliged, against their will, to come to action, because a young man of Megalopolis had begun the attack too soon." "That young man," replied Antigonus, smiling, "has performed the office of an experienced general."

This action, as we may easily imagine, lifted Philopœmen into great reputation, so that Antigonus was very desirous of having his service in the wars, and offered him a considerable command with great appointments; but he declined it, because he knew he would not bear to be under the direction of another. Not choosing, however, to lie idle, and hearing there was a war

in Crete, he sailed thither to exercise and improve his military talents. When he had served there a good while, along with a set of brave men, who were not only versed in all the stratagems of war, but temperate besides, and strict in their manner of living, he returned with so much renown to the Achæans, that they immediately appointed him general of horse. He found that the cavalry made use of small and mean horses, which they picked up as they could when they were called to a campaign; that many of them shunned the wars, and sent others in their stead; and that shameful ignorance of service, with its consequence, timidity, prevailed among them all. The former generals had connived at this, because, it being a degree of honour among the Achæans to serve on horseback, the cavalry had great power in the commonwealth and considerable influence in the distribution of rewards and punishments. But Philopœmen would not yield to such considerations, or grant them the least indulgence. Instead of that, he applied to the several towns, and to each of the young men in particular, rousing them to a sense of honour, punishing where necessity required, and practising them in exercised reviews and mock-battles in places of the greatest resort. By these means in a little time he brought them to surprising strength and spirit; and, what is of most consequence, in discipline, rendered them so light and quick that all their evolutions and movements, whether performed separately or together, were executed with so much readiness and address that their motion was like that of one body actuated by an internal voluntary principle. In the great battle which they fought with the Ætolians and Eleans near the river Larissus,* Demophantus, general of the Elean horse, advanced before the lines at full speed against Philopœmen. Philopœmen, preventing his blow, with a push with his spear brought him dead to the ground. The enemy, seeing Demophantus fall, immediately fled. And now Philopœmen was universally celebrated as not inferior to the young in personal valour, nor to the old in prudence, and as equally well qualified both to fight and to command.

Aratus was, indeed, the first who raised the commonwealth of the Achæans to dignity and power. For, whereas before they were in a low condition, dispersed in unconnected cities, he united them in one body, and gave them a moderate civil

* This battle was fought the fourth year of the hundred and forty-second Olympiad, when Philopœmen was in his forty-fourth year.

government worthy of Greece. And as it happens in running waters, that when a few small bodies stop, others stick to them, and one part strengthening another, the whole becomes one firm and solid mass, so it was with Greece. At a time when she was weak and easily broken, dispersed as she was in a variety of cities, which stood each upon its own bottom, the Achæans first united themselves, and then drawing some of the neighbouring cities to them by assisting them to expel their tyrants, while others voluntarily joined them for the sake of that unanimity which they beheld in so well-constituted a government, they conceived the great design of forming Peloponnesus into one community. It is true that, while Aratus lived, they attended the motions of the Macedonians, and made their court first to Ptolemy, and after to Antigonus and Philip, who all had a great share in the affairs of Greece. But when Philopœmen had taken upon him the administration, the Achæans, finding themselves respectable enough to oppose their strongest adversaries, ceased to call in foreign protectors. As for Aratus, not being so fit for conflicts in the field, he managed most of his affairs by address, by moderation, and by the friendships he had formed with foreign princes, as is related in his life. But Philopœmen, being a great warrior, vigorous and bold, and successful withal in the first battles that he fought, raised the ambition of the Achæans together with their power; for under him they were used to conquer.

In the first place, he corrected the errors of the Achæans in drawing up their forces and in the make of their arms. For hitherto they had made use of bucklers which were easy to manage on account of their smallness, but too narrow to cover the body, and lances that were much shorter than the Macedonian pikes, for which reason they answered the end in fighting at a distance, but were of little use in close battle. As for the order of battle, they had not been accustomed to draw up in a *spiral* form,* but in the square battalion, which having neither a front of pikes, nor shields, fit to lock together, like that of the Macedonians, was easily penetrated and broken. Philopœmen altered both; persuading them, instead of the buckler and lance, to take the shield and pike; to arm their heads, bodies, thighs, and legs; and, instead of a light and desultory manner of fighting, to adopt a close and firm one. After he had brought the youth to wear complete armour, and

*The Macedonian phalanx occasionally altered their form from the square to the *spiral* or *orbicular*, and sometimes to that of the *cuneus* or wedge.

on that account to consider themselves as invincible, his next step was to reform them with respect to luxury and love of expense. He could not, indeed, entirely cure them of the distemper with which they had long been infected, the vanity of appearance, for they had vied with each other in fine clothes, in purple carpets, and in the rich service of their tables. But he began with diverting their love of show from superfluous things to those that were useful and honourable, and soon prevailed with them to retrench their daily expense upon their persons, and to give in to a magnificence in their arms and the whole equipage of war.

The shops, therefore, were seen strewed with plate broken in pieces, while breast-plates were gilt with the gold, and shields and bridles studded with the silver. On the parade the young men were manauaging horses, or exercising their arms. The women were seen adorning helmets and crests with various colours, or embroidering military vests both for the cavalry and infantry. The very sight of these things inflamed their courage, and called forth their vigour, made them venturous, and ready to face any danger. For much expense in other things that attract our eyes tempts to luxury, and too often effeminacy; the feasting of the senses relaxing the vigour of the mind; but in this instance it strengthens and improves it. Thus Homer represents Achilles, at the sight of his new armour, exulting with joy, and burning with impatience to use it. When Philopæmen had persuaded the youth thus to arm and adorn themselves, he mustered and trained them continually, and they entered with pride and pleasure into his exercise. For they were greatly delighted with the new form of the battalion, which was so cemented that it seemed impossible to break it. And their arms became easy and light in the wearing, because they were charmed with their richness and beauty, and they longed for nothing more than to use them against the enemy, and to try them in a real encounter.

At that time the Achæans were at war with Machanidas, the tyrant of Lacedæmon, who, with a powerful army, was watching his opportunity to subdue all Peloponnesus. As soon as news was brought that he was fallen upon the Mantineans, Philopæmen took the field and marched against him. They drew up their armies near Mantinea, each having a good number of mercenaries in pay, beside the whole force of their respective cities. The engagement being begun, Machanidas with his foreign troops attacked and put to flight the spearmen

and the Tarentines, who were placed in the Achæan front; but afterwards, instead of falling upon that part of the army who stood their ground, and breaking them, he went upon the pursuit of the fugitives, and when he should have endeavoured to rout the main body of the Achæans, left his own uncovered. Philopœmen, after so indifferent a beginning, made light of the misfortune, and represented it as no great matter, though the day seemed to be lost. But when he saw what an error the enemy committed, in quitting their foot, and going upon the pursuit, by which they left him a good opening, he did not try to stop them in their career after the fugitives, but suffered them to pass by. When the pursuers were got at a great distance, he rushed upon the Lacedæmonian infantry, now left unsupported by their right wing. Stretching, therefore, to the left, he took them in flank, destitute as they were of a general, and far from expecting to come to blows; for they thought Machanidas absolutely sure of victory when they saw him upon the pursuit.

After he had routed this infantry with great slaughter, he marched against Machanidas, who was now returning with his mercenaries from the pursuit. There was a broad and deep ditch between them, where both strove a while, the one to get over and fly, the other to hinder him. Their appearance was not like that of a combat between two generals, but between two wild beasts (or rather between a hunter and a wild beast), whom necessity reduces to fight. Philopœmen was the great hunter. The tyrant's horse being strong and spirited, and violently spurred on both sides, ventured to leap into the ditch; and was raising his fore feet in order to gain the opposite bank, when Simmias and Polyænus, who always fought by the side of Philopœmen, both rode up and levelled their spears against Machanidas. But Philopœmen prevented them; and perceiving that the horse, with his head high reared, covered the tyrant's body, he turned his own a little, and pushing his spear at him with all his force, tumbled him into the ditch. The Achæans, in admiration of this exploit and of his conduct in the whole action, set up his statue in brass at Delphi, in the attitude in which he killed the tyrant.

It is reported that at the Nemean games, a little after he had gained the battle of Mantinea, Philopœmen, then chosen general a second time, and at leisure on account of that great festival, first caused this phalanx, in the best order and attire, to pass in review before the Greeks, and to make all the movements which

the art of war teaches, with the utmost vigour and agility. After this he entered the theatre, while the musicians were contending for the prize. He was attended by the youth in their military cloaks and scarlet vests. These young men were all well made, of the same age and stature, and though they showed great respect for their general, yet they seemed not a little elated themselves with the many glorious battles they had fought. In the moment that they entered, Pylades the musician happened to be singing to his lyre the *Persæ* of Timotheus, and was pronouncing the verse which begins—

The palm of liberty for Greece I won,

when the people, struck with the grandeur of the poetry sung by a voice equally excellent, from every part of the theatre turned their eyes upon Philopœmen, and welcomed him with the loudest plaudits. They caught in idea the ancient dignity of Greece, and in their present confidence aspired to the lofty spirit of former times.

As young horses require their accustomed riders, and are wild and unruly when mounted by strangers, so it was with the Achæans. When their forces were under any other commander, on every great emergency, they grew discontented and looked about for Philopœmen; and if he did but make his appearance, they were soon satisfied again and fitted for action by the confidence they placed in him; well knowing that he was the only general whom their enemies durst not look in the face, and that they were ready to tremble at his very name.

Philip, king of Macedon, thinking he could easily bring the Achæans under him again, if Philopœmen was out of the way, privately sent some persons to Argos to assassinate him. But this treachery was timely discovered, and brought upon Philip the hatred and contempt of all the Greeks. The Bœotians were besieging Megara, and hoped to be soon masters of the place, when a report, though not a true one, being spread among them that Philopœmen was approaching to the relief of the besieged, they left their scaling-ladders already planted against the walls, and took to flight. Nabis, who was tyrant of Lacedæmon after Machanidas, had taken Messene by surprise. And Philopœmen, who was out of command, endeavoured to persuade Lysippus, then general of the Achæans, to succour the Messenians: but not prevailing with him, because, he said, the enemy was within, and the place irrecoverably lost, he went himself, taking with him his own

citizens, who waited neither for form of law nor commission, but followed him upon this natural principle, that he who excels should always command. When he was got pretty near, Nabis was informed of it; and not daring to wait, though his army lay quartered in the town, stole out at another gate with his troops, and marched off precipitately, thinking himself happy if he could escape. He did indeed escape, but Messene was rescued.

Thus far everything is great in the character of Philopœmen. But as for his going a second time into Crete, at the request of the Gortynians, who were engaged in war, and wanted him for general, it has been blamed, either as an act of cowardice, in deserting his own country when she was distressed by Nabis, or as an unseasonable ambition to show himself to strangers. And it is true, the Megalopolitans were then so hard pressed that they were obliged to shut themselves up within their walls, and to sow corn in their very streets; the enemy having laid waste their land, and encamped almost at their gates. Philopœmen, therefore, by entering into the service of the Cretans at such a time, and taking a command beyond sea, furnished his enemies with a pretence to accuse him of basely flying from the war at home.

Yet it is said, that as the Achæans had chosen other generals, Philopœmen, being unemployed, bestowed his leisure upon the Gortynians, and took a command among them at their request. For he had an extreme aversion to idleness, and was desirous, above all things, to keep his talents, as a soldier and general, in constant practice. This was clear from what he said to Ptolemy. Some were commending that prince for daily studying the art of war, and improving his strength by martial exercise: "Who," said he, "can praise a prince of his age, that is always preparing, and never performs?"

The Megalopolitans, highly incensed at his absence, and looking upon it as a desertion, were inclined to pass an outlawry against him. But the Achæans prevented them by sending their general Aristænetus to Megalopolis, who, though he differed with Philopœmen about matters of government, would not suffer him to be declared an outlaw. Philopœmen, finding himself neglected by his citizens, drew off from them several of the neighbouring boroughs, and instructed them to allege that they were not comprised in their taxations, nor originally of their dependencies. But assisting them to maintain this pretext, he lessened the authority of Megalopolis in the general

assembly of the Achæans. But these things happened some time after.

Whilst he commanded* the Gortynians in Crete, he did not, like a Peloponnesian or Arcadian, make war in an open, generous manner, but, adopting the Cretan customs, and using their artifices and sleights, their stratagemis and ambushes, against themselves, he soon showed that their devices were like the short-sighted schemes of children, when compared with the long reach of an experienced general.

Having greatly distinguished himself by these means, and performed many exploits in that country, he returned to Peloponnesus with honour. Here he found Philip beaten by T. Q. Flaminius, and Nabis engaged in war both with the Romans and Achæans. He was immediately chosen general of the Achæans; but venturing to act at sea, he fell under the same misfortune with Epaminondas; he saw the great ideas that had been formed of his courage and conduct vanish in consequence of his ill success in a naval engagement. Some say, indeed, that Epaminondas was unwilling that his countrymen should have any share of the advantages of the sea, lest of good soldiers (as Plato expresses it) they should become licentious and dissolute sailors; and therefore chose to return from Asia and the isles without affecting anything. But Philopomen being persuaded that his skill in the land service would insure his success at sea, found, to his cost, how much experience contributes to victory, and how much practice adds in all things to our powers. For he was not only worsted in the sea-fight for want of skill; but having fitted up an old ship which had been a famous vessel forty years before, and manned it with his townsmen, it proved so leaky that they were in danger of being lost. Finding that, after this, the enemy despised him as a man who disclaimed all pretensions at sea, and that they had insolently laid siege to Gythium, he set sail again; and as they did not expect him, but were dispersed without any precaution, by reason of their late victory, he landed in the night, burned their camp, and killed a great number of them.

A few days after, as he was marching through a difficult pass, Nabis came suddenly upon him. The Achæans were in great terror, thinking it impossible to escape out of so dangerous a passage, which the enemy had already seized. But Philopomen, making a little halt, and seeing, at once, the nature of the ground, showed that skill in drawing up an army

is the capital point in the art of war. For altering a little the disposition of his forces, and adapting it to the present occasion, without any bustle he easily disengaged them from the difficulty; and then falling upon the enemy, put them entirely to the rout. When he saw that they fled not to the town, but dispersed themselves about the country; as the ground was woody and uneven, and on account of the brooks and ditches impracticable for the horse, he did not go upon the pursuit, but encamped before the evening. Concluding, however, that the fugitives would return as soon as it grew dark, and draw up in a straggling manner to the city, he placed in ambush by the brooks and hills that surrounded it many parties of the Achæans with their swords in their hands. By this means the greatest part of the troops of Nabis were cut off: for not returning in a body, but as the chance of flight had dispersed them, they fell into their enemies' hands, and were caught like so many birds ere they could enter the town.

Philopœmen being received on this account with great honour and applause in all the theatres of Greece, it gave some umbrage to Flaminius, a man naturally ambitious. For, as a Roman consul, he thought himself entitled to much greater marks of distinction among the Achæans than a man of Arcadia, and that, as a public benefactor, he was infinitely above him: having by one proclamation set free all that part of Greece which had been enslaved by Philip and the Macedonians. After this, Flaminius made peace with Nabis; and Nabis was assassinated by the Ætolians. Hereupon Sparta, being in great confusion, Philopœmen, seizing the opportunity, came upon it with his army, and, partly by force and partly by persuasion, brought that city to join in the Achæan league. The gaining over a city of such dignity and power made him perfectly adored among the Achæans. And, indeed, Sparta was an acquisition of vast importance to Achaia. It was also a grateful service to the principal Lacedæmonians, who hoped now to have him for the guardian of their liberty. For which reason, having sold the house and goods of Nabis, by a public decree, they gave the money, which amounted to a hundred and twenty talents, to Philopœmen, and determined to send it by persons deputed from their body.

On this occasion it appeared how clear his integrity was; that he not only seemed, but *was* a virtuous man. For not one of the Spartans chose to speak to a person of his character about a present, but afraid of the office, they all excused

themselves, and put it upon Timolaus, to whom he was bound by the rites of hospitality. Timolaus went to Megalopolis, and was entertained at Philopæmen's house; but when he observed the gravity of his discourse, the simplicity of his diet, and his integrity of manners, quite impregnable to the attacks and deccits of money, he said not a word about the present, but having assigned another cause for his coming, returned home. He was sent a second time, but could not mention the money. In the third visit he brought it out with much difficulty, and declared the benevolence of Sparta to him. Philopæmen heard with pleasure what he had to say, but immediately went himself to the people of Lacedæmon, and advised them not to try to tempt good men with money, who were already their friends, and of whose virtues they might freely avail themselves; but to buy and corrupt ill men, who opposed their measures in council, that thus silenced, they might give them less trouble; it being much better to stop the mouths of their enemies than of their friends. Such was Philopæmen's contempt of money.

Some time after, Diophanes, being general of the Achæans, and hearing that the Lacedæmonians had thoughts of withdrawing from the league, determined to chastise them. Meanwhile, they prepared for war, and raised great commotions in Peloponnesus. Philopæmen tried to appease Diophanes and keep him quiet: representing to him, "That while Antiochus and the Romans were contending in the heart of Greece with two such powerful armies, an Achæan general should turn his attention to them; and, instead of lighting up a war at home, should overlook and pass by some real injuries." When he found that Diophanes did not hearken to him, but marched along with Flaminius into Laconia, and that they took their route towards Sparta, he did a thing that cannot be vindicated by law and strict justice, but which discovers a great and noble daring. He got into the town himself, and, though but a private man, shut the gates against an Achæan general and a Roman consul; healed the divisions among the Lacedæmonians, and brought them back to the league.

Yet afterwards, when he was general himself, upon some new subject of complaint against that people, he restored their exiles, and put eighty citizens to death, as Polybius tells us, or, according to Aristocrates, three hundred and fifty. He demolished their walls, took from them great part of their territory, and added it to that of Megalopolis. All who had

been made free of Sparta by the tyrants he disfranchised, and carried into Achæa; except three thousand who refused to quit the place, and these he sold for slaves. By way of insult, as it were, upon Sparta, with the money arising thence he built a portico in Megalopolis. Pursuing his vengeance against that unhappy people, who had already suffered more than they deserved, he added one cruel and most unjust thing to fill up the measure of it; he destroyed their constitution. He abolished the discipline of Lycurgus, compelled them to give their children and youth an Achæan education, instead of that of their own country, being persuaded that their spirit could never be humbled while they adhered to the institutions of their great lawgiver. Thus brought by the weight of their calamities to have the sinews of their city cut by Philopœmen, they grew tame and submissive. Some time after, indeed, upon application to the Romans, they shook off the Achæan customs, and re-established their ancient ones, as far as it could be done, after so much misery and corruption.

When the Romans were carrying on the war with Antiochus in Greece, Philopœmen was in a private station. And when he saw Antiochus sit still at Chelcia, and spend his time in youthful love and a marriage unsuitable to his years, while the Syrians roamed from town to town without discipline and without officers, and minded nothing but their pleasures, he repined extremely that he was not then general of the Achæans, and scrupled not to declare that he envied the Romans their victory: "For had I been in command," said he, "I would have cut them all in pieces in the taverns." After Antiochus was overcome, the Romans pressed still harder upon Greece, and hemmed in the Achæans with their power: the orators, too, inclined to their interest. Under the auspices of Heaven, their strength prevailed over all; and the point was at hand, where fortune, who had long veered, was to stand still. In these circumstances, Philopœmen, like a good pilot, struggled with the times. Sometimes he was forced to give way a little and yield to the times, but on most occasions maintaining the conflict, he endeavoured to draw all that were considerable, either for their eloquence or riches, to the side of liberty. Aristænetus the Megalopolitan, who had great interest among the Achæans, but always courted the Romans, declared it in council as his opinion, "That they ought not to be opposed or disobliged in anything." Philopœmen heard him with silent indignation; and, at last, when he could

refrain no longer, said to him, "And why in such haste, wretched man, to see an end of Greece?" Manius,* the Roman consul, after the defeat of Antiochus, moved the Achæans to permit the Lacedæmonian exiles to return, and Titus seconded him in his application; but Philopæmen opposed it, not out of any ill will to the exiles, but because he was willing they should be indebted for that benefit to himself and the Achæans, and not to the favour of Titus and the Romans. For the next year, when he was general himself, he restored them. Thus his gallant spirit led him to contend with the prevailing powers.

He was elected general of the Achæans, the eighth time, when seventy years of age; and now he hoped not only to pass the year of his magistracy without war, but the remainder of his life in quiet. For as the force of distempers abates with the strength of the body, so in the states of Greece the spirit of contention failed with their power. Some avenging deity, however, threw him down at last, like one who, with matchless speed, runs over the race and stumbles at the goal. It seems that, being in company where a certain general was mentioned as an extraordinary man, Philopæmen said, "There was no great account to be made of a man who suffered himself to be taken alive." A few days after this, Dinocrates the Messenian, who was particularly on ill terms with Philopæmen, and, indeed, not upon good terms with any one, by reason of his profligate and wicked life, found means to draw Messene off from the league; and it was also said that he was going to seize a place called Colonis. Philopæmen was then at Argos, sick of a fever; but upon this news he pushed to Megalopolis, and reached it in one day, though it was at a distance of four hundred furlongs. From thence he presently drew out a body of horse, consisting of the nobility, but all young men, who, from affection to his person and ambition for glory, followed him as volunteers. With these he marched towards Messene, and meeting Dinocrates on Evander's hill, he attacked and put him to flight. But five hundred men, who guarded the flat country, suddenly coming up, the others, who were routed, seeing them, rallied again about the hills. Hereupon, Philopæmen, afraid of being surrounded, and desirous of saving his young cavalry, retreated upon rough and difficult ground, while he was in the rear, often turning upon the enemy, and endeavouring to draw them entirely upon himself.

* Manius Acilius Glabrio.

Yet none of them dared to encounter him; they only shouted and rode about him at a distance. As he often faced about, and left his main body, on account of his young men, each of whom he was solicitous to put out of danger, at last he found himself alone amidst a number of the enemy. Even then they durst not attack him hand to hand, but, hurling their darts at a distance, they drove him upon steep and craggy places, where he could scarcely make his horse go, though he spurred him continually. He was still active through exercise, and for that reason his age was no hindrance to his escape; but being weakened by sickness, and extremely fatigued with his journey, his horse threw him, now heavy and encumbered, upon the stones. His head was wounded with the fall, and he lay a long time speechless, so that the enemy, thinking him dead, began to turn him, in order to strip him of his arms. But finding that he raised his head and opened his eyes, they gathered thick about him, bound his hands behind his back, and led him off with such unworthy treatment and gross abuse, as Philopœmen could never have supposed he should come to suffer, even from Dinocrates.

The Messenians, elated at the news, flocked to the gates. But when they saw Philopœmen dragged along in a manner so unworthy of the glory of his achievements and trophies, most of them were touched with pity and compassion for his misfortune. They shed tears, and contemned all human greatness as a faithless support, as vanity and nothing. Their tears, by little and little, turned to kind words, and they began to say, they ought to remember his former benefits, and the liberty he had procured them by expelling the tyrant Nabis. A few there were indeed, who, to gratify Dinocrates, talked of putting Philopœmen to torture and to death, as a dangerous and implacable enemy, and the more to be dreaded by Dinocrates, if he escaped, after being made prisoner, and treated with such indignity. At last they put him in a dungeon called the *Treasury*, which had neither air nor light from without, and which, having no doors, was closed with a great stone. In this dungeon they shut him up with the stone, and placed a guard around it.

Meanwhile, the Achæan cavalry, recollecting themselves after their fight, found that Philopœmen was not with them, and probably might have lost his life. They made a stand, and called him with loud cries, blaming each other for making

base and shameful escape, by abandoning their general, who had been prodigal of his own life in order to save theirs. By much search and inquiry about the country, they got intelligence that he was taken prisoner, and carried the heavy news to the states of Achaia, who, considering it as the greatest of losses, resolved to send an embassy to demand him of the Messenians; and in the meantime prepared for war.

While the Achæans were taking these resolutions, Dinocrates, who most of all dreaded time, as the thing most likely to save Philopœmen, determined to be beforehand with the league. Therefore, when night was come and the multitude retired, he opened the dungeon, and sent in one of his servants with a dose of poison, and orders not to leave him till he had taken it. Philopœmen was laid down in his cloak, but not asleep; vexation and resentment kept him awake. When he saw the light and a man standing by him with a cup of poison, he raised himself up as well as his weakness would permit, and, receiving the cup, asked him, "Whether he had heard any thing of his cavalry, and particularly of Lycortas?" The executioner answering that they almost all escaped, he nodded his head in sign of satisfaction; and looking kindly upon him said, "Thou bringest good tidings, and we are not in all respects unhappy." Without uttering another word, or breathing the least sigh, he drank off the poison, and lay down again. He was already brought so low that he could not make much struggle with the fatal dose, and it despatched him presently.

The news of his death filled all Achaia with grief and lamentation. All the youth immediately repaired with the deputies of the several cities to Megalopolis, where they resolved, without loss of time, to take their revenge. For this purpose, having chosen Lycortas for their general, they entered Messene, and ravaged the country, till the Messenians with one consent opened their gates and received them. Dinocrates prevented their revenge by killing himself: and those who voted for having Philopœmen put to death, followed his example. But such as were for having him put to the torture were taken by Lycortas, and reserved for more painful punishments.

When they had burned his remains, they put the ashes in an urn, and returned not in a disorderly and promiscuous manner, but uniting a kind of triumphal march with the funeral solemnity. First came the foot with crowns of victory on their

heads, and tears in their eyes; and attended by their captive enemies in fetters. Polybius, the general's son, with the principal Achæans about him, carried the urn, which was adorned with ribbons and garlands, so that it was hardly visible. The march was closed by the cavalry completely armed and superbly mounted; they neither expressed in their looks the melancholy of such a mourning, nor the joy of a victory. The people of the towns and villages on their way flocked out as if it had been to meet him returning from a glorious campaign, touched the urn with great respect, and conducted it to Megalopolis. The old men, the women, and children, who joined the procession, raised such a bitter lamentation that it spread through the army, and was re-echoed by the city, which, besides her grief for Philopœmen, bemoaned her own calamity, as in him she thought she lost the chief rank and influence among the Achæans.

His interment was suitable to his dignity, and the Messenian prisoners were stoned to death at his tomb. Many statues were set up, and many honours decreed him by the Grecian cities. But when Greece was involved in the dreadful misfortunes of Corinth, a certain Roman attempted to get them all pulled down,* accusing him in form, as if he had been alive, of implacable enmity to the Romans. When he had finished the impeachment, and Polybius had answered his calumnies, neither Mummius nor his lieutenants would suffer the monuments of so illustrious a man to be defaced, though he had opposed both Flaminius and Glabrio not a little. For they made a proper distinction between virtue and interest, between honour and advantage; well concluding, that rewards and grateful acknowledgments are always due from persons obliged to their benefactors, and honour and respect from men of merit to each other. So much concerning Philopœmen.

* This happened thirty-seven years after his death, that is, one hundred and forty-five years before the Christian æra.



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